

There are a large number of effigies that, for want of a better name, most Wisconsin archaeologists have called "turtle" mounds. No explanations can be offered of these peculiar effigies unless they are attempts to picture fish or are altered water-spirit mounds. The Winnebago had no turtle clan, but the turtle plays an important part in their mythology. [72] [825] [614]

Perhaps the most peculiar effigy mounds are the famous "Man" mounds, of which only two examples are in existence, and the so-called "intaglio." Good descriptions of both types have been given. [72]

The two "Man" mounds have generally been regarded as inexplicable or connected with some prehistoric rite, and it seemed useless to attempt any explanation. As there seemed to be no reason why these mounds might not fall into the same category as the clan mounds, the writer took the opportunity of inquiring about them among the older Winnebago. A number of the people asked knew nothing about them, but, fortunately, two very old members of the tribe interpreted them, as soon as they were described, as representations of the Warrior or Hawk clan. As this clan belonged to the Bird phratry, no one had ever looked for any but bird emblems. [614] [615]

No information has been obtained from living Winnebago that could throw any light on the "intaglio" mounds. We wish, however, to hazard a suggestion as to their possible meaning. "The intaglio effigies," to quote Mr. Brown, "may be described as being the reverse of the ordinary effigy mounds. They are excavated out of the soil instead of erected upon it, the earth removed from the shallow excavation being heaped up with care along the edges, giving form and prominence to the animal shapes depicted." The Winnebago frequently placed symbols referring to water deities under water, and, as 10 of the 12 intaglio that have been described belong unquestionably to the Water-spirit clan, it may have been customary to keep these "intaglio" filled with water. The discovery of two supposedly Bear "intaglio" militates against this suggestion. However, according to the Bear clan legends, the ancestors of that clan came from the water, as did likewise those of the Wolf and Buffalo clans. [776] [614] [614]

We now come to the most unsatisfactory problem of our area—namely, the nature and significance of the linear mounds. The various types have been best described by Mr. A. B. Stout and we will do best to quote him in extenso:

The principal classes of linear mounds are as follows:

The pure linear type is a straight wall-like mound of uniform width and height. They are usually about 2½ feet in height and from 10 to 20 feet in width. Some are as

¹ "The Preservation of the Man Mound," in vol. 7, no. 4, of the *Wisconsin Archaeologist*, and "The Intaglio Mounds of Wisconsin," in vol. 8, no. 1, of the same journal; both papers by C. Brown.

² Cf. *Winnebago Archaeologist*, vol. 9, no. 1, p. 6.

172 of the distribution of copper among the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo, and if we were in a position to tell whether or not these tribes had copper before their arrival in Wisconsin. We might then be in a better position to decide whether the Winnebago obtained their copper from these tribes or from some northern tribe, presumably the Potawatomi or Menominee. It is generally supposed that they actually did obtain their copper implements through the intermediation of these two last-mentioned tribes, although there is no really conclusive evidence for it. That opportunities for their transmission through the Menominee or Potawatomi were plentiful is unquestioned, and the only problem is whether the systematic exchange was not conditioned by the appearance of the white traders.

The last problem connected with Winnebago archeology is the authorship of the numerous flint arrowheads. They are found all over Wisconsin, in every nook and corner of Winnebago territory, in every stage of manufacture, and yet the Winnebago of to-day regard them as having been made by some other tribe. The most common explanation of their origin is the legendary one that they were made by worms. In the few cases where the old men were of a different opinion, the writer was assured that they were the "bones" of the water-spirits, and consequently holy. Numerous myths speak of them in connection with the water-spirit. The Indians admit that they had at times used them as arrow points, but insist that in every case they were found in the earth; that in fact people were generally blessed with them. Mr. Skinner informs me that the Menominee, on the other hand, remember very well how they were made. Among the Winnebago, until recently, three kinds of arrow points were in use: one, properly not an arrow point at all but simply a sharpened arrow, the second consisting of sharpened portions of pieces of antlers, and the third consisting of a turtle claw that had been softened and straightened. It has generally been maintained that the presence of regular "quarries" absolutely clinched the hypothesis of a Winnebago origin for the flint arrow points, but it seems to us that we would first have to prove that in every case where such quarries are found no tribe but the Winnebago had ever occupied that territory, because had any Algonquian tribe been there they might be held as much responsible for these quarries as the Winnebago. That they were not used within the recollection of the oldest men among the Winnebago there can be no doubt, because this question was repeatedly put to them, with negative results.

It seems best, therefore, to attach some significance to current belief as to the origin of the flint arrow points and to assume for the present that they were either the work of the prehistoric ancestors of the Winnebago or that of some tribe that had occupied the terri-

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MOTHER-IN-LAW AND FATHER-IN-LAW TABOO

In former times the mother-in-law and father-in-law taboo was in full force. No man was allowed to talk directly to his mother-in-law or to look at her, and the same rule held with regard to the attitude of a woman toward her father-in-law. Even accidental meetings of these relatives, as on the road, were attended with great embarrassment. The author never learned of any way in which either the mother-in-law or the father-in-law taboo could be relaxed even temporarily, much less done away with entirely. 606

PUERTY CUSTOMS

From the age of five, children, male and female, were taught the customs of their ancestors in a series of talks always delivered by an elderly male relative, perhaps the father. The specific training differed, of course, for boys and girls and for individuals. Personal training ceased at the age of puberty, when all, both boys and girls, were sent out to fast. For boys this fasting constituted the only puberty rite. After their faces had been blackened with charcoal they were sent to some neighboring hill with the injunction not to return till dawn. Gradually they would be sent out for two, then three, nights; if after that trial they were not blessed they would be advised either to desist entirely or exhorted to fast until they were blessed, no matter how long the time required to secure the desired result. While fasting the boys and girls used the following formula: 867

Waxop' inixjiwina hina'djire na'dje'je wahadjex.
Spirits am I likely to be blessed? that is why I am praying. 785 787

One old Indian informed the author that in former times the young boys and girls were offered either bread or charcoal for their fast. If they took the charcoal, well and good; but if they took the bread, they were unceremoniously kicked out of the house and the charcoal was thrown after them. From the other statements of this informant one might gather that the young boys and girls generally took the bread, because, he said, after they had been kicked out, they would always resolve to go to the wilderness (in that way running the risk of being captured or killed by an enemy), in order to spite their parents. My informant was of the opinion that the parents purposely treated their children roughly, so that they might feel all the more miserable while fasting and thus pray all the more intensely. 739 782

A faster is always told to be careful as to what kind of spirits bless him, as he might be blessed by a bad spirit. Therefore a faster's blessings are always reviewed by the elders. J.'s old grandmother used to call the children in at dusk, as the evil spirits are around then. 776

CHAPTER VII

SYSTEM OF EDUCATION¹

871 The Winnebago seem to have had a more or less formal system of instruction. This consisted of a series of precepts on different aspects of life, such as the duty of fasting, of being a warrior, of behavior to one's parents and relatives, how to treat one's wife and women in general, how to bring up children, how to behave to strangers, etc. These formal teachings were called *ak'i'ku*², which means "precepts" or "teachings." Doubtless those obtained do not constitute all the different types existing, but they seem fairly representative.

MY FATHER'S TEACHING TO HIS SONS AND DAUGHTERS

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867 • My son, when you grow up you should see to it that you are of
 776 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which you
 787 can begin to be of any aid to them, and that is to fast. So, my son,
 see to it that you fast. Our grandfather, the fire, who stands at all
 times in the center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.³
 Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his blessings.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the war chiefs, bless you. See to it that they pity you.⁴ Some day when you go on the warpath their blessings will enable you to have specific foreknowledge of all that will happen to you on that occasion. This will likewise enable you to accomplish what you desire without the danger of anything interfering with your plans. Without the slightest trouble you will then be able to obtain the prizes of war. Without any trouble

¹ This chapter was originally intended for special publication and the notes prepared for it then have been retained.

[372] ² The fire (*ak'i'ku*) is regarded as a spirit by the Winnebago. As a spirit he possesses many gifts that are of use to human beings in their existence on earth, and in order to obtain them, mortals must make offerings of tobacco to him. He may also appear to them during their fastings and bless them with a number of powers. In addition to his other powers, it is believed that he is the messenger of Kariakumuk and the other spirits and that he transmits both the messages, as well as the offerings that mortals make to him, by means of the smoke that rises upward. The old men speak of the fire first, because being always around them it is a comparatively easy task to make offerings to it.

³ This is the regular expression used for blessing. The idea seems to be that through fasting and crying you are to put yourself in a "pleasurable" condition and that then the spirits, seeing your state, will pity you and grant you what you have asked. The word "grandfathers" is used in the sense of ancestral spirits, the thunderbirds, who are regarded as the dispensers of war power, not only by members of this clan but by all Winnebago.

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you will be able to obtain these and in addition glory and the war honors.* If, in truth, you thirst yourself to death,† our grandfathers who are in control of wars to whom all the war powers that exist in this world belong they will assuredly bless you. 867
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My son, if you do not wear out your feet through ceaseless activity (in fasting), if you do not blacken your face for fasting, it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon yourself. Blessings are not obtained through mere desire alone; they are not obtained without making the proper sacrifices or without putting yourself time and again in proper mental condition. Indeed, my son, they are not to be obtained without effort on your part. So see to it that, of all those spirits whom Earthmaker created, one at least has pity upon you and blesses you. Whatever such a spirit says to you that will unquestionably happen.

Now, my son, if you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will not amount to anything in the estimation of your fellowmen. They will show you little respect. Perhaps they will make fun of you.

Do not die in the village. It is not good to die there. Whenever a person is grown up that is what is told him. Nor is it good, my son, to let women journey ahead of you from amidst the village. It is not good thus to let women die before you.‡ Therefore, in order to prevent this, our ancestors encouraged one another to fast. Some day you will travel in a difficult road; there will be some crisis in your life, and then when it is too late you will begin to reproach yourself for not having fasted at the proper time. So that you may not have occasion to blame yourself at such a time I counsel you to fast. If you do not obtain a blessing when the other women are dividing the war prizes brought home from the warpath by their brothers, your sisters will stand aside envying them. If, however, you are blessed by the spirits in control of war power, and if you then return victorious, how proud your sisters will be to receive the war honors and to wear them around their necks and participate with them in the victory dance! And in this way your sisters likewise will be strengthened by your war deeds. You will keep well, in health. [767]

My son, it will indeed be good if you obtain war powers, but our ancestors say it is difficult. Especially difficult is it to be leader on 967
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* There are four war honors, the highest going to the Indian who first touches a dead enemy, the second belonging to the one who kills him, and the last two to those who touch him second and third. The war prizes generally consisted of necklaces of wampum which were given to those who had obtained the first war honors. The victor also would be given the privilege of first smoking the pipe on his return to his home. The prize of the wampum necklace was always given by the victor to his elder sisters. [554]

† That is, fast.

‡ That is, obtain war power so that you can go on the warpath and prevent yourself from dying in the village or have women die before you.

867 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you
 593 abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early.
 562 Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your
 776 wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abus-
 ing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking
 care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 My son; when you keep house, should anyone enter your house,
 574 no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the
 house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most as-
 suredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about
 giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will
 poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people
 and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him
 sent for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always
 good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you
 888 possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him
 there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the
 middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words.

[778] This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that
 he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it
 is an object without a stem,¹² keep it to protect your house. If you
 thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested
 by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house un-
 expectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your
 house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medi-
 cine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.

867 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on
 773 this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and
 776 some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of some-
 thing. Even the small animals that move about this earth the
 creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. After-
 wards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the
 powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then
 he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no
 matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be
 able to take this weed from us without giving something in return.

[276] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing.
 So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said
 that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should
 ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the
 spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this
 reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take
 pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

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¹² A plant without a stem, presumably some root, used for warding off danger.

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powers that the creator gave them. So it will be. Earthmaker made it thus.

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My son, you must fast. If you breathe upon sick people," I mean if you are blessed with that kind of power, you will be able to restore people to health. You will be of help to your people. If you can, in addition, draw out the pain from within the body of an individual; you will indeed be a help to your people. They will respect you. You will not even have to work for all your necessities, for those whom you treat will cheerfully support you as long as you live. If you should die, your name will be held in great respect and people will frequently talk about you. Ah, that man he had indeed great power!

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My son, if you are not able to fast," try at least to obtain some plants that are powerful. There are people who know the qualities of the different plants, who have been blessed by the spirits with this knowledge. It is pitiable enough that you could obtain nothing through fasting, so ask those that are in possession of these plants at least to have pity upon you. If they have pity upon you, they will bless you with one of the plants they possess, and you will thus have something to help you in life and to encourage you. One plant will not be enough. Of all the plants that cover the earth and lie like a fringe of hair upon the body of our grandmother, try and obtain knowledge of these, that you may be strengthened in life. Then you will have reason to feel encouraged. A real medicine man has even more justification for feeling encouraged than an ordinary one, because such a one has been blessed with life by the Water-spirits. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the real powers of curing people, so that you will have the power of making them arise from their sick beds, you must long and patiently wait and labor. If, however, you obtain the true powers—that is, if you obtain blessings from the Water-spirits—then some day, when your children are in need of medicine, you will not have to go and look for a medicine man, but you will only have to look into your medicine bundle. Whatever trouble your children have you will be able to cure it. Should anything be the matter with the people of your tribe they will call upon you. You can then open your medicine bundle and the individual who is wanting in life will be benefited from the stock of medicines

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¹¹ sickness is due to the presence of some object within the body. Illness can therefore only be cured if this object is extracted. This is generally accomplished by the shaman sucking it out through a bone tube. Among the Winnebago the shaman before applying the tube sucks some water upon the afflicted person and breathes upon him. This is what the "breathing" refers to.

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¹² Not everyone who fasts is blessed with power. For those who are thus enabled to obtain blessings directly from the spirits there is only one method of protection against evil— the purchase of plants with magical properties from those who have been blessed with them. These can be obtained by any individual no matter how unscrupulous he has been in obtaining blessings through personal fasting. As that is needed is sufficient reason for purchasing them. Of course it goes without saying that those who have been blessed with power may and do also provide themselves with these medicines.

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that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed. You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines—and inflicts suffering upon himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine, and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for every purpose.

There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

walking in the clouds, there is a name, *He-who-walks-in-the-clouds*. Now since the thunder-birds have long wings, there is a name, *He-who-has-Long-Wings*. . . Now when the thunder-birds come, they come with terrible thunder-crashes, it is said; and as many people as there are on this earth, . . . and as many plants as there are on the earth, indeed, everything, the earth itself, they deluge with rain, and thunder-crashes (are heard); for all this they have a name; they call him *Wawudjizega*.

The point at issue in this interpretation of names is, can we accept it as historically primary? We do not think so, for the following reasons: A large number of the names are clearly descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, and others refer to personal achievements, etc. Secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretation are present. As a matter of fact in the above quotation, our informant distinctly mentions the fact that the characteristics of thunderbirds were used for names, although he insists that the names referred specifically to the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan. According to J. O. Dorsey the interpretations obtained by him were largely symbolical. He makes no mention of the interpretation obtained by the author, although this may be due to the fact that he was but imperfectly acquainted with Winnebago ethnology. It seems best, therefore, to regard the ancestor-episode type of name as but one, perhaps the last, that developed among the Winnebago.*

ATTITUDE TOWARD CLAN ANIMALS

When the animal names became associated with the social groups they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude exhibited toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group.

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived of as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of

* For fuller discussion of P. Radin, *The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians*, Memoirs of the U. S. Anthropological Series 2, Geological Survey of Canada, 1912.

614 the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by
 825 a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit unit may
 776 thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus a symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal differs from that toward the guardian spirit in this characteristic respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself than with the "spirit." As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunderbird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan symbol and used as a property mark, and he is brought into intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the living animal species. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way, for the blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is, in short, a clan protector.

[423] In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent: first, the possibility of the "spirit" of the guardian spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration connected with religious societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; secondly, under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as descent is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of esoteric societies, and that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

RELATIONSHIP TO CLAN ANIMALS

614 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the con-
 825 sideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the determination of this relationship—data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths.

614 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a
825 religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical
tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead
of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit,
the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by
the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea
of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary
for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its

614 specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating ex-
825 ample of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war
778 bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was
obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian
spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly

• [774] influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent
spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war
bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of
the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here
[773] the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal,
comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals,
defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the
eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.

614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between
a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the
clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures
only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently
found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the
latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the

[777] Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not
found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above,
we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the
fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some
versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while
in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human
being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the
fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been
primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organiza-
tion, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

THE CLAN TIE

614 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the
602 conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another.
In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another
member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal.
[562] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is

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gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated night-spirit (*aghe*). The Winter Feast might thus be interpreted as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war bundle may therefore be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

IMMATERIAL POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan has certain "immaterial" possessions. They all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the Bird clans, it is the possession of fire; for the Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which, of course, no explanations can be given now.

THE CLAN MARKS OF IDENTIFICATION

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. These were the war club (*namtce*) of the Thunderbird clan and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namazinizini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namazinizini* was buried with a member of a Bear clan we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the center of clan squash fields, cornfields, etc.

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fact of Winnebago culture, namely, that there are, strictly speaking, ⁶¹⁴ no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. ⁵⁷⁵ There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects, are absolutely identical with the religious societies, ^[76] and which furnish, it seems to us, an example of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan as an organization, the other from the entire clan unit.

In the Winter Feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Gen- ⁶¹⁴ erally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of ⁷⁹⁶ each specific clan war bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honor. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to represent a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings that were contained in the war bundle ⁷⁸² were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings ⁷⁷⁶ were indeed made to them. There seem thus to have been two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other to the night-spirits.

The question arising with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or whether we are to suppose that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing we must also add the fact that the Winter Feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonquian, whose influence on the Winnebago must ^[77] first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary.

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan unit. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization and in content. The difference between it and a society like that of the night-spirit lies in the fact that although the five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles), they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle

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An old Winne-

bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry.

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette.

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans.

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions.

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath.

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46.

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi-zakirutega; ka-icakitecaga*.

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan.

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CLAN MYTHS AND NAMES

ORIGIN MYTH (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)¹

539 In the beginning, Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came
 614 to consciousness, and there was nothing else anywhere.² He began
 776 to think of what he should do, and finally he began to cry and tears
 began to flow from his eyes and fall down below him. After a while
 he looked down below him and saw something bright. The bright
 objects were hidden tears that had flowed below and formed the
 present waters. When the tears flowed below they became the seas
 as they are now. Earthmaker began to think again. He thought,
 "It is thus, if I wish anything; it will become as I wish, just as my
 tears have become seas." Thus he thought. So he wished for light
 and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed;
 the things that I wished for have come into existence as I desired."
 Then he again thought and wished for the earth, and this earth
 came into existence. Earthmaker looked on the earth and he liked
 it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do the waves of the sea.
 Then he made the trees and he saw that they were good, but they
 did not make the earth quiet. Then he made the grass to grow,
 but still the earth was not yet quiet. Then he made the rocks and
 stones, but still the earth was not quiet. However, it was nearly
 quiet. Then he made the four directions (cardinal points) and the
 four winds. On the four corners of the earth he placed them as
 great and powerful people, to act as island weights. Yet the earth
 was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and throw them
 down toward the earth, and they pierced through the earth with
 their heads eastward. They were snakes. Then the earth became
 very still and quiet. Then he looked upon the earth and he saw that
 it was good. Then he thought again of how things came into
 existence just as he desired. Then he first began to talk. He said,
 "As things are just as I wish them, I shall make one being in my
 own likeness." So he took a piece of clay (earth) and made it like
 himself. Then he talked to what he had created, but it did not
 answer. He looked upon it and saw that it had no mind or thought.
 So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it, but it did not
 answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no tongue.
 Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again, but it did
 not answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no
 soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again, and it very nearly
 said something. But it did not make itself intelligible. So Earth-
 maker breathed into its mouth and talked to it, and it answered.

¹ Told in connection with the origin of the Thunderbird totem.² This myth is reprinted from Radin, *Winnebago tales*, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXV, no. LXXXV, 1913. It has apparently been somewhat influenced by the Bible.

As the newly created being was in his own likeness, Earthmaker⁵³⁹ felt quite proud of him, so he made three more just like him. He⁶¹⁴ made them powerful so that they might watch over the earth. These⁷⁷⁶ first four he made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. And he thought, "Some will I make to live upon the earth of those I have created." So he made four more beings in his own likeness. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—Kunuga, Henanga, Hagaga, and Nanyiga. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth." So saying, he opened the heavens in front of where they sat and there they saw the earth (spread out below them). He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send with you," he added, and he gave them a plant. "I myself shall not have any power to take this from you, as I have given it to you; but when of your own free will you make me an offering of some of it, I shall gladly accept it and give you what you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." It was a tobacco plant that he had given them. He said, also, "All the spirits that I create will not be able to take this from you unless you desire to give it, by calling upon them during fasts and offering it to them. Thus only can the spirits get any of it. And this also I send with you that you may use it in life. When you offer anything it shall be your mediator. It shall take care of you through life. It shall stand in the center of your dwellings and it shall be your grandfather." Thus he spoke to them. What he meant was the fire. And then he gave them the earth to live upon.

So the four Thunder spirits brought the four brothers down to the earth. The oldest one, Kunuga, said, while on their way down, "Brother, when we get to the earth and the first child is born to me I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunders*, if it be a boy." On they came down toward the earth. When they got near the earth it began to get very dark. Then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl it shall be called *Dark*." They came to a place called Within Lake* at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay. On an oak tree south of the lake is the place where they alighted. The branch they alighted on bent down from their weight. Then said the third brother to his brothers, "The first daughter born to me shall be called *She-who-weighs-the-tree-down-when-she-is-born*." Then they alighted on the earth, but the Thunder spirits did not touch the earth. Then said the fourth and last brother to his brothers, "Brothers, the first son that is born to me shall be called *He-who-weights-on-the-earth*." The first thing they did on earth was to start their fire.

Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food for them, so he made the animals that they

* This lake is probably Green Bay itself.

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might have something to eat. The oldest brother said, "What are we going to eat?" Then the youngest two took the bow and arrows that Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Not long after the third brother came into view with a young deer on his back and the youngest brother also came with a young deer about 2 years old on his back. The deer that were killed, and those that killed them, were also brothers. They were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then said they, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." Saying thus, they cut off the ends of the tongues and the heart and threw them into the fire with some fat. The first people to call on them were the War clan people. They came from the west. Then came four others. They were the thunders. Thus they were called the youngest brothers. Then came those of the earth. Then came those of the Deer clan. Then those of the Snake clan. Then came those of the Elk clan. Then came those of the Bear clan. Then came those of the Fish clan. Then came those of the Water-spirit clan and all the other clans that exist. Then there appeared on the lake a very white bird swan they called it. And after that, all the other water birds that exist came. And they named them in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the deer meat. "What is that?" they said. Then said Kunuga, the eldest brother, "It is a wasp, and the first dog that I possess, if it is black, Wasp I shall call it." Thus he spoke. "And as the wasp scented and knew of the deer dressing so shall the dog be toward other animals, and wherever the dog is, and animals are in the windward, he shall scent them." They made a feast with the deer for Earthmaker and threw tobacco into the fire and offered it to him. And to the other clans they showed how fire was to be made and gave them some, "For," they said, "each of you must now make fire for yourselves, as we shall not always lend you some." There the people made their home. It was just the time of the year when the grass comes as far as the knee.

One day they reported that something very strange was near the camp; but they said to themselves, "We will leave it alone." In a little while it moved nearer. Thus it moved toward the camp and soon it began to eat deer bones. They allowed it to become one of their clans and took it into their house. It was the dog or wolf. They killed one and made a feast to Earthmaker, telling him all about what they had done.

In the beginning the Thunder clansmen were as powerful as the Thunder spirits themselves. It was the Thunder people who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering around the earth the Thunder people struck the earth with their clubs and made dents in the hills. That is the reason that the upper clans are chiefs of all the others and that the least of all are the dog people. So it was.

[554]

One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again, ⁵³⁹ and he did not breathe and he became cold. "What is the matter ⁶¹⁴ with our oldest brother?" the three others said. Four days they ⁷⁷⁶ waited for him, but still he did not arise. So the second brother was asked by his youngest brother what the trouble was; but he did not know anything about it and told him to ask his third brother; but this one did not know either. Then the two older brothers asked the youngest one, but he did not know either. Then they began to mourn for him, not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces, as we do now when we are in mourning. They made a platform and laid him on it. When the snow fell knee-deep the three brothers filled their pipe and went toward the place of the coming of daylight—the east. There they came to the first being that Earthmaker had placed in the east, the *Island-wright*, as he was called. They came to him weeping and went into his tent, turning the stem of the pipe in his mouth. They said, "Grandfather, our brother Kunuga has fallen and is not able to rise again. Earthmaker made you great and endowed you with all knowledge, and thus you know all things." He answered and said, "My dear grandsons, I am sorry, but I do not know anything about it; but as you have started to find out I would refer you to the one ahead of me (the north). Perhaps he can tell you."

So, weeping, they started for the next one. When they got there and told him their troubles, he told them he could not help them; "but," he said, "perhaps the one ahead of me knows." So they started for the third one (the west), but from him likewise they could learn nothing. He also referred them to the one ahead (the south). When they reached the fourth and last one, they entered the lodge, and behold there sat the three to whom they had gone before. Here they asked the last one for help, and not only he but the other three also answered them: "Grandsons, thus Earthmaker has willed it. Your brother will not rise again. He will be with you no more in this world, and as long as this world lasts so will it be with human beings. Whenever one reaches the age of death one shall die, and those that wish to live long will have to attain that age by good actions. Thus they will live long. Into your bodies Earthmaker has placed part of himself. That will return to him if you do the proper things. This world will come to an end sometime. Your brother shall keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan, and there he shall be in full charge of all of you, and when this world is ended your brother shall take all the souls back to Earthmaker—at least all those who have acted properly. Thus it is. Now you may go home and bury your brother in the proper manner." The Thunder people thanked the four spirits and left the tent. When they got home they took their brother's body,

539 dressed him in his best clothes, and painted his face. Then they
614 told him where he was to go and buried him with his head toward
776 the west and with his war club. They placed the branch of a tree at
his grave, and painted a little stick red and tied it to the tree, so
that nothing should cross his path on his journey to the spirit abode.
If any object or animal should cross his path on that journey, he must
strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those relatives
he had left behind on earth might derive blessings in war and attain
long life. He must have his pipe and food along with him on his
journey, and thus the things that he throws behind him will be a
blessing for those still remaining on earth. Also the life he leaves
behind him (i. e., the years that, had he lived to a normal age, are
still due him) and the victories that he might have gained, all these
he is to give to his relatives. The riches he might have had or, in
fact, anything that he could possibly have had, he is asked to give to
these relatives. Then they will not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE "LAN")

In the beginning four brothers started from above and came toward
this world. They came to a country called (*ni jah*, cliff place?), and
there they alighted on a tree. From there they started around the
world, going from left to right.* The first time they went around
they went through space, but the second time they went along this
earth, at a place called *derok* (Within Lake). There they built
lodges for themselves. While doing this the oldest suddenly became
quiet, as if stricken. Finally, he asked the second brother what he
should do, and the second brother said to him, "You are the oldest
and ought to know what to do. How can I, who am younger, know
anything? Perhaps the third-born brother might know." So he
asked the third-born, but he said, "You are the older and ought to
know. How can I, being the younger, know? Perhaps the youngest
brother will know." So they asked that one and he said, "Yes, I
know something." The thing about which they did not know any-
thing was the making of the fire. The younger one, saying he knew
something, took a piece of an oak tree and began twisting it until it
began to smoke, and then the fire started. Then he placed it on the
ground. After the fire began to blaze and seemed well started they
finished building their lodge. From that time on whenever they saw
anything new the brothers would give it a name. Animals and all
the things that exist were thus named. And then they were to pre-
pare a meal, and the second brother reached out his hand and pro-
duced the food that they wanted (i. e., he seemingly reached out from
where he was seated and brought in deer's meat, etc.). Not having

* The conventional manner of passing around a lodge. Supposed to be comparable to the path of the sun.

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any cooking utensils they broiled their meat on sharp sticks. Then the oldest one began making utensils for cooking. He took clay and slippery elm bark, mixed them together, and made a pot out of it, which was then heated over a fire. 539
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Within Lake was their main stopping place during their wanderings. Now the members of the other clans began gathering at this place and all the other clans got to this place and obtained their fire from the Thunderers. From that time on they also began intermarrying. The rule was that the upper clansmen married the women of the lower clans and vice versa. The oldest one of the brothers made friends with the Water-spirit clan and the second brother made friends with the Bear clan. The reason why the upper clans and the lower clans intermarried was to prevent their marrying their own relatives. The second brother is the ancestor of the War clan people.

The Thunderers do not say that they were descended from the Thunderbirds, but they claim that in wandering about there was always a drizzling rain and fog which they caused and on account of the similarity of this to the actions of the Thunderbirds they called themselves the Thunderers.¹

From the gathering at Green Bay the clan names originated. The names were taken from incidents of their journey to this place. The older brother kept on naming everything; the different parts of our body; the different parts of animals, etc. When he finished, he suddenly stopped breathing and died. His death occurred at dawn. The brothers did not know that he had died. For a long time they waited for him to come to life again, but he never came to life again. Thus death originated. His body died, but his spirit traveled west toward the setting of the sun, making a road for all who were to come after him. He was the chief of the village of the spirits.

THIRD VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN—FRAGMENTARY)²

"Well, my younger brother, what shall we speak of? Let us speak of the Winnebagoes. You are right. Of them we will speak. What shall we eat? If we see an animal let us eat him. I will go and look. See I have brought a deer. We will eat him." So they built a fire and broiled that deer. They cooked it and then ate it. Then they heard something. They listened and two persons came into the tent. They took a seat opposite. "Ha, ha, you that sit opposite, what relation will you be to me?" "What relation should I be to you?" "You shall be my chief." "Listen, some are saying

¹ The word Thunderers is the same as Thunderbirds. One and the same being in mind.

² This account seems to begin after the Thunderbirds have reached Green Bay and are sitting in the lodge waiting for the other clans to arrive.

539 something. Ha ha, our friends have come. Sit opposite (these
614 opposite said). As long as we live we will attend to the fire for
● 776 you." "Listen, our friends, they are speaking." "Ha, ha, sit
opposite me" (a new clan has entered). They sat down. "You
Water-spirit clan, what relation, my friend, will you be to me?"
"What relation shall I be to you? You will be my chief." "Good.
Now listen, a dog is howling. Let us wait for him." So the Thunder-
birds waited for him. "Let us call him." "Ha, ha, my friend,
we wish to teach the two-legged walkers something. As we say so
will the Winnebagoes ever be." Again the Thunderbirds spoke,
"Listen, some one has said something. Two people have come.
We will call them the Buffalo clan."

THE WARRIOR CLAN

INTRODUCTION

614 There are not many members of this clan left, although it seems
to have been quite important in the old days, to judge from the
number of effigy mounds all over Wisconsin. There seems little
doubt but that those bird effigies with unsplit tail are supposed to
represent this clan.

[552] Only one version of the origin myth was obtained. There is little
266] to be said about it except that it mentions the fact that it was cus-
tomary to have names for dogs. One statement seems to point toward
cannibalism. As was pointed out in the preceding discussion, there
is a boastful claim that they were chiefs.

614 Although, at the present time, this clan is known only as the
178 *wonayira da'qekuk* (fear-inspiring men), its older name was hawk,
and as such it was still known to J. O. Dorsey. When the present
name began to be popular, it is impossible to say, but we feel confi-
dent that it has been in partial use for a considerable length of time.
The change is quite in line with the rather common habit of referring
to the Thunderbird clan as the chief clan and the Bear clan as the
soldier clan. In other words, we have a name indicative of the func-
tions of a clan superseding the older animal name. It is only in the
case of the Warrior clan, however, that this substitution has been
complete.

614 There is no indication in the myth that the Warrior clan was ever
localized. A number of informants stated that the clan was but
a division of a general bird phratry. In version 2 of the Thunder-
bird clan origin myth it is stated that the second of the two brothers
was the ancestor of the Warrior clan. Dorsey, as we have seen,
obtained the same information.

[367] The Warrior clan seems to have had a lodge in the northwest
corner of the village. In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were
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In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were continued and certain tribal regalia deposited. The informants were not, however, at all clear about these facts, some even denying that there was a Warrior lodge and insisting that prisoners were confined in the Bear or Soldier lodge. 614
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According to one informant the Warrior and Bear clans could give each other orders that had to be obeyed. 614

The members of the Warrior clan claimed that all the members of the clan were warriors and did not have to fast in order to obtain the right of starting out on a war party. This was vigorously denied by the members of the other clans, who referred to this claim with derision. There seems, however, to be no reason for questioning the fact that the clan had a special lodge and that it was intimately connected with war functions. Exactly what these were it is quite impossible to state; as they have not been exercised for a very long time. [785]

The first two clan songs are given on page 220. The clan facial decoration, used only at burial, and which were supposed to be marks of recognition in the spirit land, are as follows: A red line alternating with a black and another red line across the forehead, and a red line around the mouth. One informant claimed that only the three marks on the forehead were necessary, and that in times of war blood was used for the red marks (pl. 40). [302]

According to an informant of the Thunderbird clan, the Warrior clan functions were as follows:

The Warrior clan's position in the tribe is that of general warrior. He can kill an enemy at any time without breaking any of the rules of the tribe. Every other clansman who wishes to go on the warpath must fast and be blessed by the spirits with specific blessings before he can do this. [721]

There may have been a special feast associated with the Warrior clan, but the author never heard of it. The clan possessed a number of war bundles. [778]

ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning, Earthmaker made four men. Then he sent them to the earth. Within Lake, there, they landed and they alit on the branch of a tree. There were four branches and each one alit on one branch. And then on the earth they jumped and started walking toward the east. There they erected a camping place. There they started the fire. It was the principal fire. Then they started to look for food, but they were unable to find any. So the second brother was sent, but he was not able to get any animal, but he brought a man. Because he brought it, for that reason, the first male child we have shall be called *He-who-eats-humans*. Then the second one, him whom they called the warrior, was sent. Thus it 614
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614 was. And then all of them went toward the chief's lodge. They
539 walked as chiefs, all four of them. The four of them went there.
776 The chief's lodge was an oval lodge, and there they entered.

The Snake clansman was the one appointed to get the food. He went after the food. It was an Eagle-people feast. Two fish the Snake clansman brought, and with these the Eagle chief gave a feast. The Deer clan acted as attendants. Thus they ate the fish. And when they were finished with the eating, on either side, they left the head and the tail of the fish. This they left of their meal. "And if we have a dog we will call him *Leaves-fish-on-both-ends*," they said. Then they sat down. As they were sitting some one peeped in. It was the dog. Only his nose he stuck in. Then they said, "Whose nose does it look like?" So the chief spoke. "If we ever have a dog and if we wish to keep it permanently, *Whose-nose-does-it-look-like*, we will call it.

[783] Then all of a sudden their bodies began to be different and their feathers began to look as if they were worn off. They were about to enter the chief's lodge. Then the chief passed the fire to the Deer clan and when they were through the lodge was purified with the incense of smoking cedar leaves. Then again into the very long lodge they entered. This was at Red Banks. Then the upper people taught the lower people the things to make them good. Thus Earth-maker ordained everything, and as he ordered so it was. That is the way they were. Holy they were. And all (of my clan?) lived as chiefs. This is all that I was taught.

CLAN SONG

First song

The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.

Second song

The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.

EAGLE AND PIGEON CLANS

614 No information was obtained about either of these clans. The
Pigeon clan has been extinct for some time and only a few survivors of the Eagle clan are left. Neither of these clans seems ever
[778] to have been of great importance. They had war bundles and an
796] Eagle feast is mentioned.

The following dog names were obtained:

A black dog with yellow eyebrows and breast is called *hesiga'ruyaga*, 614
 Opens-beehives; black female dog, *katkikiga*, 231
 Picks-acorns; black dog with white around the neck, *kate kagawanaga*, 552
 Runs-for-acorns. The chief also had the privilege of calling a dog *voruzaga*, to show his superiority over the other members of the Bear clan. From another informant the following were obtained: *Teapiracotega*, Eats-everything-except-hide; *teahoruvka*, Pulls-out-deer-liver.

ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION ¹¹

Informant, member of the clan: In the beginning a bear came 614
 walking on the ocean. When he got to the shore he flew off as a 539
 raven and alit on the shore. The first being he saw was a Dog clans-
 man. Then he entered the lodge and sat opposite him. That is 776 ●



FIG. 31.—Diagram of Bear lodge.

why they call one another friends, or "he who sits opposite me." From the fact that he flew off as a raven we have a name (*kazijigaga*). The lodge had four doors, one on each end and one on each side (fig. 35). They landed at Green Bay, where a great gathering was held of all the clans. The other Bear clansmen claim that it was water foam that flew from the water, and it is from that fact that they obtained so much life. The fact that he (the bear) changed himself twice is the reason for his greatness among his fellow clansmen. Originally it was the fourth born who was sent from across the ocean.

SECOND VERSION

Informant, father of above: In the beginning 10 brothers started from across the ocean to the great clan meeting. When they got near, four waves came ashore and a raven flew from the waves, but when it alit (on land) it was a bear that walked. They were the greatest

¹¹ There are so many versions of the origin of the Bear clan that I think it best to give all I obtained. They are all discussed on p. 225.

614 in power, as they had changed themselves twice. There they crossed
539 the tracks of the Wolf clan, and they said, "Our friends have gone
● 776 by." Then they went and sat opposite the Wolf people. The Wolf
and Bear clans must bury one another.

The 10 men left their father and mother across the ocean.

The Bears should paint their faces with charcoal from burnt bass-wood and red paint. The face should be painted red and black alternately crosswise in stripes, or black on the upper half and red on the mouth and chin. Women are painted with red markings on each cheek and with charcoal markings in the center of the cheek.

THIRD VERSION

Informant, member of the Bear clan: It is supposed that Earth-maker ordered a meeting of all the animals to take place at Green Bay, and that the Soldiers (another name for the Bear clan) were also to attend.

In the beginning Earthmaker created all things in the form of animals, but at this gathering they (the originators of the various clans) were to become human. When all was in readiness to start, it was decided that the families of those animals who were to become the ancestors of the Winnebago clans were each to send one representative, and that the one who was thus chosen, accompanied by his wife, was to become transformed on that occasion. Of the soldiers (i. e., the bears) the youngest was sent. He had three brothers, of whom the eldest had black hair, the second dark red hair, and the third blue or green hair. They were the chiefs of the villages from which they had started.¹⁰ Only the youngest, however, was sent to the earth to attend the meeting. When he emerged at a place to the north of Green Bay he came from out the earth. When they emerged (the bear and his wife) it was a very fine day. As they were coming they heard voices in the distance saying, "The soldiers are coming." As they started to walk their footprints seemed imprinted with the blue of the sky i. e., with daylight. A name has originated from this fact (*As-bamanina*, "He-who-walks-with-the-day"). As his wife was with him, he immediately started to hunt. (It seems that by this time the bear had some followers, for some would from time to time ask whether they were going to eat, and he would answer yes and tell them to hunt for food.)

When the youngest of the brothers started, the brothers who remained behind told him "to remember them" with regard to tobacco, red feathers, and food, and therefore after he had started he told some of his followers to go ahead and bring food of such and such a kind, so that when he arrived at certain camping places those sent

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¹⁰ It must be remembered that all this is taking place in the heavens, in the spirit state of the bones. The other traditions are only appendices etc.

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ahead would be there before him ready with the food. After the first meal they started out again, and soon they came across the track of a member of some other clan, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." The latter clan had also said in coming, "Our friend must have come by." Then they came to the place where a large lodge had been constructed. When all were inside, the animal-beings wished to start a camp fire, and they called upon all those present to start it; but no one except the Thunderbirds could do it, so they made the Thunderbirds chiefs of the tribe. As, however, they were to have a number of chiefs, they called upon the Water-spirits to be chiefs of the lower division. Of the third division, the soldiers were to be the chiefs. The latter were to be in charge of discipline. That is the origin of the Bear or Soldier clan.

FOURTH VERSION

Informant, member of the clan (so-called "true" version): Earthmaker made all things, and then he created man and woman, and he placed them in the south. He gave them charge of some of the day or life. All the creatures on the earth and all the birds of the air he was in charge of. He was going to start up from below and walk toward the north. All the creatures went with him. He walked forth with all the creatures. When he arrived on earth all the other clans had already gathered at one place. When he arrived they said, "Our soldiers have come. Make room for them." So it was said. And he said to them, "The things Earthmaker created me for, those I will do. Therefore, wherever you live or wherever you gather together I will look after your village; even to the edge of the clearing, that far I will make it sacred for you; and if you are ever overcome by sickness and you ask me to arise and help you, your sickness will leave you. And while he spoke of his power for four days the weather had been good, and no wind blew from any direction. The soldier was thus in charge of affairs. And as he spoke thus all birds with sharp claws flew above him in a circle.

On the fourth day all the clans left for their respective homes. Now even to this day he, the bear, is still in charge of the people.

FIFTH VERSION

Informant, same as of fourth version (so-called "minor" version): In the south, where he emerged and came upon our earth, there was a spring which gave forth white water. When he was about to come out, the hill in which he was confined shook and the spring shook also. He was not the first to come out, for his attendants preceded him. Then he came out. There were 11 men. The oldest one told him to go and look around at the fields. He sent out four to look at the fields (the raspberries and all other fruits). The

614 acorns and nuts they called beans. The four that emerged soon
539 came upon the footprints of human beings.

776 And then they returned from the fields where they had been searching for food. "Oh, my; oh, my," they said, "over there we came across the footprints of human beings." So they spoke. "Go again," he said, "go around a larger circle." So they went farther than before, and there they saw the people who had made the footprints. "Our friends are going about here," said the ones who had made the footprints and who were wolves. "Never shall we disobey one another's word, my friends," said the bear. And the wolf answered, "It shall be so."

[627] If one of the Bear clansmen had been killed and it was reported to the Wolf clan, the latter would revenge him. The Bear clan would act similarly. Then the bear said to the wolf, "My friend, whenever you die I shall put you away so that your soul may not be bothered by bad insects." And the wolf answered, "My friend, it shall be so, and when you die I will likewise put you away so that the bad spirits may not abuse your soul." Then they parted, after shaking each other's hands. The bears returned to their home in the south. The next time they came, it was to stay. They scattered themselves all over the earth, seeking newly ripened fruit of all kinds. In this manner they are still living on earth.

SIXTH VERSION

Informant, member of the clan: Earthmaker made us and as he created us thus the story has come down. The story of our creation is told as follows:

"Get ready. We will converse together over this affair." So spoke the one in the south. He was but one of those whom Earthmaker had created. There were four brothers. The name of the oldest one was Black Person, that of the second Red Person. (Indeed he was very red.) The third one was called Blue Person, and the fourth one White Person.

"Younger brother, how is it going to be? I (the oldest), who am speaking, not fitted do I feel myself for the task. My temperament is indeed not fitted for the task. Perhaps you might have something to tell them. Try, therefore, to say something to them. They are about to have a gathering and it is time to start. Try to say something to them." "Older brother, the truth do you speak. I also feel even as you have said; I am not fitted for it. I really don't consider myself equal to the task. My younger brother only is the one fitted for it. He is clever. Our younger brother, he only must be the one." "The truth you have spoken, my brother. Our youngest brother only is fitted for the task. The announcement of the gathering has already been made, so let us council over it imme-

* Told as the origin myth of the Bear clan.

diately. Let us get ready. Our younger brother, he is patient and strong-minded. On the earth he must go and we will remain here. To take care of the home we will remain here. Whatever he says it shall be so. In that wise will we think. Earthmaker has ordained that the gathering shall take place and that we are to live our lives there (on earth). Our younger brother he will go and live on the earth. As he is about to go to the earth, we will ask him to remember us.

"Younger brother, when you arrive on earth, whatever offerings you obtain, send them back to us as you walk along. When you start out you will appear with life. This you will take with you. This will be your task. Be careful that you perform everything correctly. When you arrive there, it will be necessary to give names to the human beings and to their dogs.

"Younger brother, when you start out toward the earth you will be holy. And when you are on earth and your first boy is born, call him He-who-is-very-black, and call the second one (*wajiga*) Brown-bear, the third one Blue-bear, and the fourth one White-bear. And if girls are born to you, call the first one Night-walking-woman, the second one Daylight-as-she-walks, the third one She-who-thrusts-herself-within-a-lodge, and the fourth one Visible-footprint-woman. And if your daughters have dogs which they wish to keep let them give them the following names (*wadogega*, untranslatable): Dog-pair, Third-born-girl, and Red-female-dog. Thus let it be."

When they (the bears) started, those at the gathering place listened: "Our soldiers have started; their whoops are audible." When the bear came on earth, he came across some tracks. "Our friends have gone by," he said. Finally the bears (man and woman) arrived at the gathering place; there they found all the clans assembled. The Water-spirit was the first one to come; then came the birds and then the bears. When all were assembled, they began to construct a large lodge. When it was finished, the one who had arrived first, the Water-spirit, was addressed by some of the other people. "Our chief, how are we going to make fire! Had you not better start!" "True you speak, but I do not know how. I am unable. Let some one else try it." But they all regretted and declined, saying they did not know how. So it was decided that he who made a fire would be chief. All thereupon tried, but only the Thunderbird succeeded. So he became the chief and the others all thanked him. Then the fire was distributed and all the clan fireplaces were made. Thus it was at the creation council. Now all things were finished and arranged. The Thunderbirds were the rulers of the village. The other people measured their acts by him. When the chief said do so and so, they would obey. Then the chief went out to look for food for himself and for his people, and they began to bring back

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● 776 food in the form of their relatives—i. e., in the form of the animals after whom they were named. Then the Bear people made a rule that they were to have a feast at which offerings would be made to their clan animal. And it was for him that they placed a shallow kettle at the feast. This is all.

SEVENTH VERSION

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

At a large spring sat a male bear. He looked upon his body and it was very blue. It was even bluer than the blue of the sky. As the blue from the sky illuminated, so he was. He sat as though he was part of the day. He was a chief and his name was Blue-chief. Toward one side he looked and there stood twelve men. Then the earth began to quake and something came out from the spring. Because something had come out from under the earth that is why the earth quaked. Blue-bear named him Earth-shaker. Then the earth began to quake again and now it was worse than before and Blue-chief named the one who emerged Earth-quaker. And then for the third time the earth began to tremble, even much more than before. So much did it tremble that the day itself trembled; and those that were not solidly attached to the earth came to the top and all manner of fruit was scattered over the earth. When he came out Blue-chief named him Given-forth-fruit-as-he-walks. And again for the fourth time the earth began to roar and tremble and even the day trembled. Then one came out. So he was named, Makes-the-day-tremble. Thus they were all named as they came out. Then Blue-bear was told by Earthmaker, "This is all that remains to be done; your friends are waiting for you." There Blue-bear talked with Earthmaker, the latter telling him what he was to do. Then they started to the place where all the other clans were gathering, at Red Banks. As they came, all the leaves that had rough edges became human and all the trees that had prickles became human, and all the birds that had sharp claws and were able to claw anything, they all became human, and the snakes that had sharp fangs became human. Thus they went. Those of the air went in the air and those of the earth went on the earth, and nothing could cross their path. Even the earth trembled as they walked.

When they got to the gathering place they were told that seats were reserved for their friends (meaning them). But, said Blue-bear, "We did not come for that purpose, so we will not sit down. We were intended for something else by Earthmaker. As long as this world exists we will take care of you within the confines of your villages. We will not permit any evil spirits to enter these confines. The seats you offered us will remain as they are, so that if at any time the clans are gathered again our place will be reserved. Then the

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crowd dispersed and went home. Blue-bear said that he would go home but that the rest were to live on this earth and that they would be the soldiers of this earth. That is the origin of the Bear clan.

When a bear is killed on earth, the Bear clansmen do not mind it, but they laugh and feel good. When one of the Bear clan dies, they say, "Don't cry, for he has gone home." Then they paint his jaws red to give him the appearance of laughing.

When a bear is killed on earth the spirit returns to Blue-bear, and so it is with the Bear clansmen. This is the story of the Bear clan.

All the birds, trees, snakes, and everything of its kind have soldiers. The sharp-clawed birds are soldiers of the birds and all the snakes that have fangs and all the trees that have prickles are soldiers of their kind. All the animals and living things of the earth have soldiers among them. The ugliest tempered ones of their kind are soldiers of whatever class they belong to. Oftentimes when a person gets angry on earth they would say, "The soldier; it is because he has a soldier nature." (Whoever has the power of hurting one of his fellow-beings and does it has a soldier nature.) This is the story of the Soldier clan.

If they had said in the beginning, "This or that clan will never do anything wrong," then the rest of the clans would never have done so. The Soldier clan opens the way for anyone, of any clan, at any time, to take up his soldier nature.

CLAN SONGS

Song 1

Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.

Song 2

Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.

Song 3

Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?

Song 4

Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?

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THE WOLF CLAN

INTRODUCTION

614 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The
173 second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge.
[682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.
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ORIGIN MYTH

FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water.
539 Therefore their bodies are of water--i. e., their sacred possession is
776 water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and
[823] as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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their clan names is *Waw*. They first appeared as wolves and later on they became humans. After swimming to the shore they lay on their backs to dry themselves; and that also is a name, a female name, *She-who-spreads-herself-out-to-dry*, and another name is *He-who-comes-up-first*. When they became human they built themselves a lodge and lived in it, but they had no fire. Then the Thunders came down and alit on a big oak tree that stood near their lodge. At first the Thunders were afraid of the Wolf people and they would not enter their lodge. That is why we have a name *He-who-is-afraid*. They asked the Thunders to come into their lodge and they had great difficulty in persuading them. After they entered the Wolf lodge they wanted to go home again immediately, but the Wolf clan people asked them to stay over for four days. From that fact a name has originated, *One-who-is-united-for-by-the-Thunders*. The Thunders stayed, but not in the lodge of the Wolf people. They built themselves one just outside their door. Then they built a fire in it. After the four days were over the Thunders went home.

When a Wolf clansman dies the relatives paint his forehead blue (pl. 46) and the soul of the deceased is supposed to go west, and it never looks back as it goes on its journey, as this would be an indication of its longing for something in this world, and it should not do that. When the soul gets to the spirit home the relatives already there would ask the newcomer, "What did our relatives say when you were about to come?" And the deceased would answer, "They said that they would not come for some time."

The food that is prepared at the four nights' wake is supposed to last them forever.

This is the end of the story of the creation.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

All people claim to have come from some animal, and all are supposed to come from Earthmaker.

Four married wolves had a lodge in the middle of the ocean. They had four colors. The wolves all had children. One of them had 10, and the youngest one of these 10 is the one that came to this earth. When they came to this island, the first thing they saw was the footprint of the bear, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." There (at the place of gathering) they saw human beings and they liked their ways. Therefore they went home again and asked to come to earth and live with the human beings, and they were given permission to do so. Wherefore the two (man and wife) came here again the second time. When they were about to come everything was calm, and there were no waves on the ocean. They started out swimming, and they caused two waves to go before them. When they came to the humans they both got married. When they came to this land

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614 they sang songs, but I do not know them. I was not taught them.
 539 Finally children were born to both of them, and they gave them
 776 names. They called one of them Wave on account of the wave
 [55] coming before them on their starting out. Because the four original
 wolves in the middle of the ocean had four different colors, therefore
 they have names *White Wolf*, *Green Hair*, *Gray Wolf*, and *Black
 Wolf*. When the clan began to get larger they taught their children
 these names.

When a large number of different clansmen are traveling and they
 have to cross some large stream and the wind is high, they call upon
 [823] some Wolf clansman to calm the wind. This clan holds the water
 very sacred. They do not even die in the water.

It was at this first meeting that they made friends with the Bear
 clan. Therefore these two clans love one another.

THIRD VERSION—TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN (FRAGMENTARY)

The original wolf brothers appeared from the bottom of the ocean.
 When they got to the top of the water they started for the shore
 singing. When they got to the shore they saw footprints of bears
 who had just gone by. They said, "Our friends have just gone by."
 That is why they are the friends of the Bear clan. They were going
 to the meeting place. There a black hawk was gathering together
 all the different clans. Finally he finished and he said, "It is done."
 When he said this a wolf howled. They had forgotten him. They
 said, "We have forgotten him. Let some one go after him." So
 some one went after him . . .

CLAN SONGS

First song

This body of mine that I am walking.
 This body of mine that I am walking.
 This body of mine that I am walking.
 On the earth I am speaking.

Second song

This body of mine that I am walking
 This body of mine that I am walking
 This body of mine that I am walking
 In the waters am I speaking.

CLAN NAMES

oñetw'etw' nix't'aradwera (Wolf 'Clan')

614 Oñetw'etw' Hunting dog.
 551 Oñetw'etw' Wolf.
 Ragnidwiga Wolf (archaic name).

* The following names are from the Dorsey MS.

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[764] Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird clan.

[823] Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an
[576] insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges. One informant explained the custom as follows:

"If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

[302] A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man (pl. 46).

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

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In the beginning, when the clans began to form, the Bird clans came upon the earth first and alit upon an oak tree at Red Banks; and when they alit upon the oak tree they became human as we are now. Then the Water-spirit clan was to appear at Within Lake; and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked. Then the other clans said, "Now, then, this is the chief. This is all that we have been waiting for. Now we shall divide ourselves" (into groups). Then they started for the lodge of the Thunderbird clan and entered it. There they named one another and divided one another into clans and there they counceled with one another.

CLAN NAMES

WAKTCHI NI'IK'ARANERA (WATER-SPIRIT CLAN)

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He-shaj-juk's	Shining horns.
He-shaj-juk's	Two horns.
He-shaj-juk's	Handsome horns.
He-shaj-juk's	Five-horned.
He-shaj-juk's	Four-horned.
He-shaj-juk's	He who plants medicines.
He-shaj-juk's	He who looks at medicines.
He-shaj-juk's	Good cold spring.

"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (*de 614*
cicik). From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. 539
 The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. 776
 The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then
 began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the
 knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So
 they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to
 the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements.

"Thus did we originate. And then they counceled with one
 another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as
 they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some
 work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would
 never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that
 when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and
 the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask
 one another to work." [764]

CLAN SONGS

Song 1

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
 Finally you have cried. I heard you.
 Finally you have cried. I heard you.
 Finally you have cried. I heard you.

Song 2

This earth you have made me hear.
 Finally you have cried.
 You have made me hear.
 You have made me hear.

Song 3

This day you have made me hear.
 Finally you have cried.
 You have made me hear.
 You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position 867
 should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What
 should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for,
 and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be
 taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food
 (i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earth-
 maker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to [782]
 be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although
 Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own [276]
 accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it. [103]

* The name *de cicik* is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied
 it to Devils Lake in South Dakota, W.D.

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ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

This is the origin story of the Deer people. In the beginning a ⁶¹⁴ black deer accompanied by an elk appeared in the center of the ⁵³⁹ earth, and they went in the direction of the east. There they were ⁷⁷⁶ going. Then the black deer said, "My dear younger brother, I am heavy on account of my excessive fatness, go you alone and I will remain here." So he remained there and did not go; and then to the center of the earth, to the place from which they started, he returned. Then he came back to the earth, and again they asked him. Four times they asked. There the necklace of money ornaments he recognized, the black deer did.²⁴ Thus the Deer clan beat them, and therefore they have the name *Black-Deer-chief*. As they went so they returned again. Again the necklace made of money he (the black deer)²⁵ recognized. The earth they went around. Then again the black deer went to the east. It was a large one who went ahead, and as he was going along, to his astonishment, they reached the place from which they had started.

"My younger brother," said Black-deer, "you try to do it."²⁶ And the second-born went ahead and the others followed, and again they were drawn back to the place from which they started. Then the third-born went first and the others followed and the same thing happened. Then they told the fourth-born to go first, and he went in front and suddenly he struck his horn, the one on the right, upon the earth, and, behold, grass suddenly appeared. It was a very white bud that he had caused to appear. Then he struck his left horn on the earth, and he made a tree appear and the fruit of this tree was meant to be eaten. Then they ate the fruit of the tree. The top of the tree there they ate. Thus they said. And they call a woman even to-day *She-who-eats-the-top-of-the-tree*. And then they began to walk and the earth trembled from their walking. Toward the east side they went. From this fact they have a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth*. And again as some of the brothers were small they have the name *Small-deer*. They also have the name *Walking-leader*. And they also have names *She-who-comes-back* and *He-who-comes-back*, because in the beginning they always came back to the place from which they started. Whatever actions they went through, from these they derived their names.

²⁴ The thought is not quite clear here, due to the fact, that something has probably been omitted by the narrator.

²⁵ There seems to be a contest between the deer and the elk as to who would be able to see the "money-necklace" first. Under the term "money-necklace" they evidently mean the medallions distributed by the American Government to those whom they recognized as chiefs. The recognition of the "money-necklace" is evidently given to decide the chiefdomship between the deer and the elk.

²⁶ Some power is evidently drawing them back to the place from which they started.

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The four cardinal points and the winds that are there, they are in control of. If on a very nice day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become bad, and if on a very bad day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become nice. The deer people are those who are in control of the weather. And they also have a name, *He-who-plays-with-the-winds*, and a woman is called *She-who-goes-with-the-wind*. The deer would always sit with the wind back of them. Thus they roamed all over the earth. Not one place on this earth did they miss.

Once, when they had come home, their eldest brother suddenly fell down (dead). "What is the matter?" they said. And the second-born said, "Our oldest brother is not saying anything. I don't know what the matter is." And then they asked their youngest brother and he said, "Our oldest brother is dead. That is the way Earthmaker arranged things." And then he talked to the dead brother and he said, "Earthmaker has made a place for you to go to now that you are dead. You have not attained a large share of life and you have left us who remain on the earth in a pitiable condition. But now that you are going home I want to ask you something. Those years that are still coming to you, distribute among your relatives. This I beg of you. And this is the second request: May the warpaths that you did not go on (by reason of your death), may the war honors that you did not obtain, may all these things be distributed among us. This I ask of you, my dear brother. And this is the third request: May the food that you did not eat, the nuts, the sweet fruits, etc., all that you liked on earth, may it all be distributed among us. This is what I ask of you. And this is the fourth request, my dear older brother: May all the wearing apparel that belonged to you as well as all the materials that you stored in back of your tent, never to be touched by you, but may we who are left behind use it all. This I ask of you. Wherever you are going, may these requests of those whom you left here behind on earth be before you."

Then the younger brother took some red paint and he said, "Brother, I am going to paint you. Thus they will recognize you at home. That is the way we will always do it hereafter. Those who are to live after us will paint us in the same way. Now this is the manner of painting. The forehead and the corners of the eye are to be painted in black and red streaks, respectively, and the chin and the front part of the throat are to be painted red. Then he dug a grave. Then they buried him. Then they sang the songs and when they were finished with this, they traveled around the earth and came to the gathering place of the clans. When they came to that place they were people—I. e., human beings. They lived their own life just as they had as deers. All the incidents of their traveling as well as all the characteristics of deers were used in the names

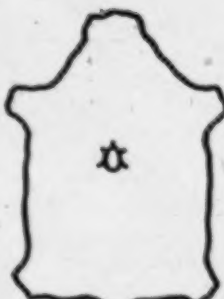
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TO MOON



TO TURTLE



TO EARTH



TO FIRE



TO HERON'A



TO NIGHT SPIRITS



TO MOON



TO SUN



TO MORNING STAR

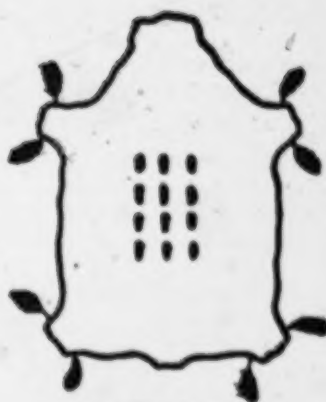
BUCKSKIN OFFERINGS

[Facing p. 248 (B)]

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FOR DISEASE GIVER



FOR EARTHMAKER



FOR NIGHT SPIRITS



FOR THUNDERBIRD

WINNEBAGO OFFERINGS

[Facing p. 248 3-]

RADIN

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPECIFIC CLANS

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair*, *Fast-one*, *Little-white-teeth*, *Diffident-one*, *Horn*, *Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there.

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REVISED VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck.

[55]

CLAN SONG.

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

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CLAN NAMES

TVA HIX'IK'ANANJERA (DEER CLAN)

Tvasphok's. Black deer chief.
Wagizous'p'iz. Wears shells around neck.
Tvanokra'p'iz. Deer vagina.
Mank'izous'p'iz. Appears in the middle of earth.
Tvanokizings. First deer woman.

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THE ELK CLAN

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth.

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The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one.

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Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference.

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46).

[372]

ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

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● 776 Earthmaker created all human beings. When he was about to create them, then he thought it would be good to see something moving. So he made a man and he was very good. But Earthmaker thought he ought to have company, so he made a woman. Then he thought to himself, "How should they know one another." So some one came to life through the water and this one was an animal. He made a village in the west for the human beings, and he thought about it and then he thought he would ask the humans what they would like to live through (i. e., become reincarnated), and they said the elk, because the elk never committed any crime. The humans were not to commit any crime. So the four elk started for the meeting place at Green Bay, Red Banks. They had up to that time supposed that they were the only living things, but Earthmaker let the oldest of the elk know of the existence of the other clans. So there they came and lived as Winnebagoes. Thus it is said. This is all that they ever tell.

CLAN NAMES

NU'WA' NU'IK'ARINERA (ELK CLAN)

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551 Robe'maniwings.....Many walking.
Rok'uhmaniwings.....She who walks with the wind.
Tosckinuzewings.....She who pursues the wind.

SNAKE AND FISH CLANS

614 No information of any consequence was obtained about these two clans. Almost all the informants claimed that they were recent additions to the tribe. Only a very few survivors of either clan are still living.

CLAN NAMES

WAK'A' NU'IK'ARINERA (SNAKE CLAN)

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551 Hask'iniq's.....Lying snake.
Hup'ahis.....He who has sharp teeth.
Hirodigs.....She who has attained her full growth.
K'ik'urediwings.....She who crawls.
K'iximinq's.....Site coiled up.
Olowok'inq's.....Site quiet in her (home).
Hokids.....High snake.

SO NU'IK'ARINERA (FISH CLAN)

Ho-spridjewings.....Red fish scale woman.

CLAN AFFILIATIONS NOT OBTAINED

Ho'ogewings.....East woman.
Hask'iniq's.....Sitting child.

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on the earth, have medicines that you are to use on earth. Whatever you say on earth it will be so. You have been blessed with all the things that are on and under the earth."

All the fowls and insects of the air, all the beings that have wings, blessed him and gave him medicines, which he was to mix with other medicines. He was told to make use of all the insects of the earth and air, some of which we never see. All those who live on earth, all the fishes in the water, and all the different kinds of water-spirits blessed him with medicines. He was blessed with, and told to use as medicines, all those plants that live in the water. He was blessed with the leech, one of the animals that lives in the water, and he was to use it in medicine mixing. They say that it is good to mix the leech with other medicines to relieve pain. He was blessed with all the trees, that we see to-day, which he was to use as medicines. Their bark, leaves, and roots are considered very good for such purposes. He was blessed also with all the small undergrowth, whose leaves, bark, inner bark, blossoms, and roots he was to use for medicine. He was blessed with all the weeds, and he was to use their heads and leaves for medicine, but their roots were to be used for other purposes.

Thus all the different kinds of plants that grow on this earth blessed him. The earth also blessed him and said to him, "Grandson, as the other spirits are blessing you, I, also, will bless you. Earthmaker has placed me here, and I therefore bless you with all plants that grow upon me, and all the trees and weeds and animals that exist on this earth, and lastly, with life and myself (i. e., earth). You may use me, and especially the blue clay that you derive from me, for medicines. Should you use as medicine all those things with which I have blessed you, especially if you use me, as medicine, you will be able to accomplish all that you attempt.

"If a person who is sick offers you tobacco (i. e., asks you to cure him), remember that I also would like to smoke and that it is for that reason that I have blessed you."

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Birds, especially eagles, are used in the making of medicines. The entire body of a raven, including the heart and brains, are used, and also the following snakes: The gray snake, the black snake, the blue snake, the yellow snake, the bull snake, and the snake that breaks itself in two. The rattlesnake is used in a mixture given to women when in labor. If a woman hurts herself during pregnancy and kills the child within her womb, she can be made to deliver the embryo if she uses the medicine mentioned above.

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¹ According to general belief the spirits are supposed to have entered into a sort of "bargain" with the human beings by which they were to bestow their blessings upon them in exchange for tobacco, bear-skin, and feathers. Of course, it must be understood that Indians must have the necessary requirements, such as a certain attitude of mind, fasting, etc., before their offering of tobacco has any meaning to the spirits.

"You will live (this is addressed to the patient), so help yourself as much as you can and try to make yourself strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen and if you know that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened by it." 755
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(What follows is the shaman's offering of tobacco to the spirits.)

"Ha ha! Here is the tobacco, Fire. You promised me that if I offered you tobacco you would grant me whatever request I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as you told me to, when I fasted for four days and you blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

"To you too, Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person who is ill is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me who took me to your lodge which lies in the center of this earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes, of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I ask of you now. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am in need of now. Add your power to mine, as you promised. The people have given me plenty of tobacco for you.

"To you, Grizzly-bear, I also offered tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge and to this all the other grizzly-bears belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomever I wished, and that at the same time I would be able to restore any person to life. Now, I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The powers with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco, grandfathers, that the people are offering to you.

"To you, the Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient. You told me that I could use all the water in the ocean, and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life; and as I wish him to live, I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore I offer you tobacco; here it is.

"To you, the Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted seven days and carried my spirit to your home, where I found many birds of prey (literally, birds

755 with sharp claws). There you blessed me and you told me that
 752 should, at any time, any human being have a pain I would be able
 ● 776 to drive it out of him. For that reason you called me One-who-
 539 drives-out-pains. Now before me is a person with a bad pain and I
 wish to take it out of him. That is what the spirits told me when
 they blessed me, before I came down to earth. Therefore I am
 going to heal him. Here is the tobacco.

"To you, who are in charge of the snake lodge, you who are perfectly white, Rattlesnake, I pray. You blessed me with your rattles to wrap around my gourd and you told me after I had fasted for four days that you could help me. You said that I would never fail in anything that I attempted. So now, when I offer you tobacco and shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life (an additional number of years) be opened to him. That is what you promised me, grandfather.

"I greet you, too, Night Spirits. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days, and you took my spirit to your village which lies in the east, where you gave me your flutes which you told me were holy. You made my flute holy likewise. For these I ask you now, for you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him; and because I want him to live I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times; here it is.

"To you, Disease-giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted two days you let me know that you were the one who gives diseases and that if I desired to heal anyone it would be easy for me to do so were I blessed by you. So, Disease-giver, I am offering you tobacco, and I ask that this sick person who has come to me be restored to health again as you promised when you bestowed your blessing upon me.

"To you, Thunderbirds, I offer tobacco too. When you blessed me you said that you would help me whenever I needed you. A person has come to me and asked me to cure him, and as I want him to live, I wish to remind you of your promise. Grandfathers, here is some tobacco.

"To you, the Sun, I offer tobacco too; here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me that you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, someone has come to me and pleaded for life, and he has brought good offerings of tobacco to me because he knows that you have blessed me.

"To you, grandmother, the Moon, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and said that whenever I needed your power you would aid me. A person has come to me and asked for life, and I therefore call upon you to help me with your power as you promised. Grandmother, here is some tobacco.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, I too offer tobacco. You blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed you. You said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect cures with them. Those herbs I ask of you now, and I ask you to help me cure this sick person. Make my medicine powerful, grandmother. 755 782 776 539

"To you, Chief of the Spirits, I offer tobacco. You who blessed me and said that you would help me. I offer you tobacco and ask you to let this sick person live, and if his spirit is about to depart, I ask you to prevent it.

"I offer tobacco to all of you who have blessed me."

Then the shaman blew upon his flute, breathed upon the sick man and sang four times. Then he walked around the lodge and spat water upon the patient. After this he sang four times and stopped. The spirits would now let him know whether the patient was to live or die.

In this manner a shaman treats his patients for four days, and after that takes his offerings and goes away. If the sick person happens to recover, the shaman would tell him that he would never be sick again.

THUNDERCLOUD'S FASTING EXPERIENCE

Then he (Thundercloud) told of his fasting experience. "At the very beginning, those above taught me (the following). A doctor's village existed there; and all the various spirits that lived up in the clouds came after me, and instructed me in what I was to do. In the beginning they taught me, and did the following for me. 'Human, let us try it,' they said to me. There, in the middle of the lodge, lay a dead, rotting log, almost completely covered with weeds. There they tried to make me treat (the sick person). Then once he breathed, and all those that were in the lodge also breathed; then the second time he breathed, and all breathed with him; then for the third time he breathed; and then for the fourth time he breathed. As a young man he, the dead log, arose and walked away. After the fourth breathing, he arose and walked away. 'Human, very holy he is,' they said to me. At 756 776

"There, from the middle of the ocean, they (the spirits) came after me, for there, in the middle of the ocean, is a shamans' village. There they blessed me—as many (spirits) as there are in the middle of the ocean—they all blessed me. There they made me try my power. As many waves as there are, all of them as large as the ocean, they asked me to blow upon; and as I blew upon them, everything became (as quiet) as (water) in a small saucer. So it became. Then I blew for the third time, and again it was that way. The fourth time they made the ocean choppy, and had (the waves) piled

one upon the other; and they told me to blow again and show my power. And I blew, and the ocean, mighty as it was, became quiet again.

" 'This, human, is the way you will have to do,' they said to me. 'Not anything will there be that you can't accomplish. Whatever illness all (the people) may have, you will be able to cure it,' they told me. All those who are on earth (the spirits) blessed me. 'If any human being who has suffered, pours tobacco for you, then, whatever you demand, that we will do for you,' they said to me. At Blue-Clay-Bank (St. Paul) there is one who is a dancing grizzly-bear (spirit), and there they came and blessed me. If ever I should meet with some great trouble, they would help me, they said. I should pour as much tobacco as I think (necessary) for them, and they will smoke it, they told me. Songs they gave to me; and the power of beholding them, a holy thing, they permitted me, they told me; and their claws, which are holy, they gave to me, they told me. Then the grizzly-bears danced, performing while they danced. Their abdomen they would tear open, and making themselves holy, they would then heal themselves. Then they did it again, and shot bear-claws at each other, and they were badly choking with blood. Then they made themselves holy, and cured themselves. Now, again, they did the following: they made a front paw disappear in the dirt, and after a while they pulled out a prairie-turnip. Then, again, they grabbed a hold of a small plum tree that stood there, and breathed upon it, and shook it, and many plums began to fall. "Then all sorts of 'shells' they gave. 'All of this, human, we bless you with; and if you do (what we desire), you will obtain (what you desire),' they said. Then he sang, and breathed (upon me), and squirted some water on my chest. 'Very true this is; very holy it is, I believe,' he said. 'You will get well,' he said to me."

RADLN

RELIGION

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along, the amount of food required, the number of moccasins necessary, the number and strength of the enemy, where he was to meet them, etc.—that only such a man might start on a warpath. If an individual failed to give the proper assurances and guarantees to the chief, his expedition was not countenanced. If, nevertheless, he went, any mishap was directly chargeable to him.

In other words, we are dealing here with a more or less fixed way of describing the mundane happenings of life. The terminology is religious, but does that mean that there is always a religious feeling attached to it? That is the crucial question to determine. We believe that the religious element in such a happening depends upon the religious susceptibility of the individual concerned. It is quite possible that a devoutly religious man may think of the religious aspect of a rite or action more than one who is but indifferently religious, but he will never for one moment forget that the questions involved here are of a purely human nature. The most that can be said of the religious element of the two particular cases mentioned above is that they will spur the person on. Perhaps it is the realization that such is the case that often prompts the more matter-of-fact individuals to lay such stress on fasting preparatory to starting on a warpath. There, indeed, seems to have been a matter-of-fact movement in the tribe, for the members of the Warrior clan claimed that they could dispense with the fasting, and that mere membership in that particular clan gave them the right to go on a warpath whenever they wished to. This we know was vigorously denied by other individuals.

The Winnebago has no disinterested, unselfish love for the spirit or deity to whom he prays, except in so far as every man is likely to develop such an attitude at some crisis or when his mind is fixed intently on the attainment of some personal advantage. Then, naturally enough, the spirits who are to bestow these blessings are addressed in the most laudatory terms. To show how intimately these spirits are bound up with the worldly affairs of man and how little they mean to him apart from this we have but to point out that, for the vast majority of Winnebago, the spirits' freedom of action is conceived of as definitely restricted. There seems to be a purely mechanical relation of cause and effect between the offerings of men and their acceptance by the spirits. The latter are not free to reject them except in theory. Was it not ordained by Earthmaker, when the earth was created, that in return for tobacco the spirits were to bestow blessings on man? So every Winnebago believes. The religious leaders insisted that only when the proper offerings were made in the proper way would the spirits bestow their blessings. But after all is said and done, the chances that the proper conditions would not be fulfilled were negligible. And we doubt whether this

716 rather high conception was shared by all the Winnebago. Our
782 impression is that many Winnebago believed the offering would
771 be mechanically followed by the blessing. Take, for instance, the
following example: A middle-aged Winnebago while hunting was
suddenly surprised by the enemy. He succeeded in making his
escape into a cave. All hope of final delivery seemed to be gone, for
the enemy stationed themselves before the entrance. Now this man
had never been blessed in his youth and knew little about the proper
procedure to observe when making offerings to the spirits. In this
terrible crisis he turned instinctively to the spirits. He took some
tobacco and put some in the different nooks of the cave, and said:
"Spirits, whoever you are, and wherever you are, it is said that you
love tobacco and that in return for it you bless people. Here is some
tobacco, and I ask that I may return to my people." There was, as
far as we know, no promise made that in return he would make fur-
ther offerings to them or that he would thereafter love them and
honor them. He escaped and unquestionably believed that it was
due to the intervention of the spirits, but the spirits were, quite
clearly, constrained to act because they had received tobacco.

There can be little doubt that many Winnebago felt as this man did.
We find an expression of the same attitude in a myth. The Winne-
bago are represented as making offerings to the buffalo spirits, and
the smoke is ascending to the home of these spirits through a hole in
the sky. The younger buffalos can not resist the temptation of
approaching the opening to catch a few whiffs of their favorite
tobacco. They are thereupon warned by the older buffalos not to
go too close, for the tobacco fumes might tempt them too strongly;
and should they succumb to the temptation and accept the offer-
ings, they would then have to appear on earth and be killed by man.
As might have been expected, there is in the relation of the spirits
to man something similar to the securing of the food animal by some
such ceremony as the *wana-krrr*. The spirits are dazzled, hypnotized
by the offerings, and accept.

716 In the second of the examples given above we were dealing with a
782 food animal—the buffalo. If there is any plausibility in the explana-
771 tion we advanced before that the Winnebago interprets religion in
925 terms of life, the relation of the spirits to the food supply ought to
show it. Now, it is characteristic of the Winnebago religion that
the great generalized spirit deities, like Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, etc.,
have little to do with the securing of specific kinds of food. As a rule,
some generalized spirit-animal presides over the various species of
animals, and he gladly permits the animals to appear on earth to be
killed by man when the proper offerings are made. This seems to
have been a secondary interpretation, however, developed probably
under the influence of the shamans as a substitute for the purely
mechanical attitude mentioned above. To picture the food animals

as desirous of being killed and eaten by man is, however, but another way of saying that the food animals were killed and eaten, and were secondarily and weakly brought into the general religious life, because everything was seen through a religious vista. It is by no means certain that this was always the case, and there seem to be innumerable indications in the myths that there was a time when the securing of the food animals was not connected with religion as such. 776
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Just as the securing of food animals is to-day connected with certain spirits, so are the various activities of man during his life. But characteristically it is not a generalized conception of life, but life as consisting of a prescribed number of years, with so many war honors, so much wealth, so much food consumed, so many children, etc. The spirits are exhorted to give to every man his allotted number of years, food, etc. These are apparently his by right, and if he dies before his time the ghost of the deceased is asked to beg the spirits to distribute among his relatives the "unused" years, food, etc. So here, too, we have a clear example of the explanation of purely materialistic conception of life in terms of religion. 771
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It will be best to discuss the main features of Winnebago religion under the following heads: 771

I. The religious concepts:

1. The concept of supernatural power.
2. The concept and nature of the spirits.
3. The power and localization of the spirits.

II. 1. The twofold interpretation of the relation of the spirits to man.

2. The guardian spirits.
3. Personal religious experiences.

III. Methods of bringing the spirits into relation with man:

1. Fasting.
2. Mental concentration.
4. Offerings and sacrifices.
5. Prayers.

IV. The folkloristic concepts:

1. The concept of evil.
2. The concept of disease.
3. The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.
4. The concept of the soul.

V. The cosmological ideas.

THE CONCEPT OF SUPERNATURAL POWER¹

The Winnebago have no such belief in a "magic power" as Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt and Mr. W. Jones would have us believe exists among [14]

¹ For a general discussion of this concept in North America cf. my paper on the "Religion of the North American Indians," *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. II, no. 196, pp. 264-282.

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[114] the Iroquois and Fox.¹ In the article mentioned above we have given our reasons for believing that these ethnologists were mistaken in their interpretation.

● T76
192 In the Winnebago language the four words most commonly used in speaking of the spirits are *wak'a*, *wak'a'ndja*, *xop*, and *wazop'i'ni*. *Wak'a* seems exactly equivalent to our word "sacred," while *wak'a'ndja*, which is identical with the Omaha word *wakonda*, means thunderbird. In all likelihood it originally meant "he who is sacred" or something like that. It has nothing to do with the word "thunder," which is *k'oire* in Winnebago. The word *wak'a* also means snake, for the snake is a holy animal among the Winnebago, the messenger of the spirits. The word *xop*, identical with the Omaha *zube*, is more difficult to define. It means sacred and awe-inspiring and seems to be associated, in the eyes of the Winnebago, with the intensely emotional aspects of religion, where self is completely forgotten. Those ceremonies, in which the performers work themselves into a frenzy of excitement and dance naked, are always referred to as *xop*. The word *wazop'i'ni* is clearly a noun compounded of the indefinite prefix *wa-* and the suffix *-ni*, which possibly is an old agentive nominalizer, or, more probably, an old stem meaning "man." It occurs also in the word *manka'ni*, medicine-man. In other words it means "he who" or "that which is holy." *Wazop'i'ni* is the only Winnebago word for spirit. Both the words *wak'a'ndja* and *wazop'i'ni* are very definite terms referring to individualized spirits.

T76 As to the use of the adjectives *wak'a* and *xop*, there seems to be little mystery about them. They are used much as our words
T71 "holy" and "sacred." Anything in any way connected with the
192 spirits is either *wak'a* or *xop*. If a Winnebago were to come across some unusually shaped object he might offer tobacco to it, and upon being questioned he would undoubtedly say that the object is *wak'a*. What is it that he means by *wak'a*? From my experience in the field he simply means that it is "sacred," and if pressed for a more definite answer he would probably say that it has the power of

¹ According to Mr. Hewitt, *orenda* is a "magic power which was assumed . . . to be inherent in every holy . . . and in every personified attribute, property, or activity . . . This hypothesis principle was conceived to be immaterial, occult, impersonal, mysterious in mode of action . . . The possession of *orenda* . . . is the distinctive characteristic of all the gods, and these gods in earlier time were all the totem and beings of nature in any manner affecting the well or woe of man." (Article "Orenda" in the Handbook of American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 20, pt. 2.) According to W. Jones, the *orenda* "is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic, mysterious property, which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature . . . The conception of this something wavers between that of a communicable property, or energy is conceived as being widely diffused amongst natural objects and human beings . . . the presence of it is promptly assigned as the explanation of any unusual power or efficacy which any object or person is found to possess . . . It is a distinct and rather abstract conception of a diffused, all-pervasive, invisible, omnipresent, and transmissible life-energy, or universal force . . . (Finally) all success, strength, or prosperity is conceived to depend upon the possession of (this force)." "The Algonquian Mind-form" (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 12, no. 48, pp. 102-106, 1902).

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bestowing blessings upon him in other words, of acting like a spirit, *wak'ani*. That is why he offers tobacco to it. We would be inclined to say that the individual finding such an object has created a new spirit. Such a new spirit may be forever confined to the particular family to which the individual belongs. It might die with him, or, on the other hand, it might acquire great importance and popularity and become a tribal spirit. What seems to have happened, in the vast majority of cases, however, among the Winnebago, is that owing to the marked development of the spirit-deities and cosmogonic myths, such "sacred" objects were interpreted as being either some manifestation of a spirit, some transformation which he had assumed, or as inhabited by a spirit.

The reason why, in our opinion, so many ethnologists have apparently misinterpreted the nature of *wak'an* is due to the fact that when something that, from the European viewpoint, is immaterial and inanimate, like vapor, light, movement, etc., is called *wak'an*, then it seems difficult for them to imagine that it can be so except by virtue of some intimate connection with a definite spirit, and if that can not be demonstrated, then the only solution left is to fall back upon the "magic power" idea. By doing this they clearly show that for them the test of individualization is corporality of a fairly definite kind, dependent mainly upon visual sensations. This brings us to a fundamental problem, not only for Winnebago religion, but for North American religion in general.

THE CONCEPT AND NATURE OF THE SPIRITS

Those Indians who have never spent any time thinking upon the nature of spirits can not truly be said to have any concept of their nature, whether vague or definite. They simply repeat what they have heard from the more religiously inclined. An answer prompted by a moment's consideration, as is often the case when an ethnologist interrogates them, does not necessarily reflect the current view of the subject, nor, for that matter, even the same Indian's belief after he has given the matter some thought. Many Winnebago, with whom the author was fairly well acquainted, refused to answer certain questions offhand and asked for time to reflect about them. It seems justified, when we are studying a subject like religion, to ask for information from those who have, in all probability, formulated the beliefs—the shamans. It is from them that we must strive to learn whether the spirits are conceived of as anthropomorphic, theriomorphic, dream-phantasms, or indefinite entities in general.

In trying to discover this the author found, not only that he was asking a leading question, but that he was asking an unnecessary question. It was soon quite clear that the Winnebago did not

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base their test of the existence of a spirit on the presence or absence of corporeality; in other words, upon such sense perceptions as sight and hearing. It is because we Europeans do insist that the presence or absence of corporeality is the test of reality or unreality that we have been led to make the classification into personal and impersonal. But the Winnebago apparently does not insist that existence depends upon sense perceptions alone. He claims that what is thought of, what is felt, and what is spoken, in fact, anything that is brought before his consciousness, is a sufficient indication of its existence and it is the question of the existence and reality of these spirits in which he is interested. The question of their corporeality is of comparative unimportance and most of the questions connected with the personal or impersonal nature of the spirits do not exist.

It is clear that if comparatively little stress has been laid by the Winnebago on the personality of the spirits, it will be difficult to define them precisely except by their names, by their attributes, and by the nature of the blessings which they bestow on man. What seems to stand out most prominently in the attitude of the Winnebago toward their spirits is the intense belief in the reality of their existence, which is due first to what might be called the "emotional authority" for their existence, and secondly, to the fact that the life values of man are intensely real and the spirits are theoretically in control of these life values.

To the average Winnebago the world is peopled by an indefinite number of spirits who manifest their existence in many ways, being either visible, audible, felt emotionally, or manifesting themselves by some sign or result. From a certain point of view, all the spirits demonstrate their existence by the result, by the fact that the blessings they bestow upon man enable him to be successful, and this holds just as much for the spirit who manifests himself in the most intangible, emotional manner as for that one who is visible to man.

In all those areas where a well-developed ritualistic organization exists a fairly large number of theriomorphic and anthropomorphic spirits is found. In many cases these are real deities. This is true for the Winnebago. Exactly how definite and distinct this theriomorphic and anthropomorphic nature of the spirits is will depend largely on the individual history that the spirit has undergone. Where tricksters and animal heroes have become spirits or deities their theriomorphic nature is marked. Other deities, like Earth-maker, Disease-giver, the Thunderbirds, etc., have become markedly anthropomorphic, owing to the reinterpretations and remodeling of the shamans. Often enough the reinterpretations are not thorough and we find deities of an apparently mixed type.

Those who care to get a detailed description of the various deities of the Winnebago should read the various prayers found in such

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ceremonies as the war-bundle feasts, buffalo dance, sun-eye dance, etc. We will enumerate but a few of them here.

The principal deities of the Winnebago are: Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, Earth, Morning Star, Disease-giver, Thunderbird, Water-spirit, etc.

Earthmaker. He is known to the Winnebago under three names: *Ma'una*, earthmaker; *naja'go'zera*, he-who-makes-something; and *wazep'ni'adara*, the great spirit. Of these the last is the most archaic, which might imply that originally Earthmaker was merely the great spirit. In the hands of the shamans, to whom the development and elaboration of the great Winnebago ceremonies like the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts were due, he became almost a true monotheistic deity, benevolent but unapproachable. In the older myths, like the trickster and hero cycles (cf. for instance, the *wak'djok'aga* and hare cycle), he is hardly mentioned except as a clear afterthought. In another cycle, like that of the twins, where he is definitely mentioned, he is treated like a spirit similar to the other spirits, although superior to them, but in no way resembling the benevolent deity that we find in the origin myth of the medicine dance (p. 350). How and when this development took place, and whether the introduction of Christianity had anything to do with it, is difficult to say. All indications seem to be overwhelmingly against the latter assumption, although it can not be entirely dismissed. As we have indicated in a previous paper,² there appears to have been a well-developed pre-Columbian belief in a good and bad spirit among the woodland Indians. The Winnebago shared in this belief and Earthmaker developed his present position through the displacement of the chief bad spirit called *Herregunina*.

The older conception of Earthmaker seems to crop out also in the occasional attempts of individuals to obtain blessings from him. (Cf. the tale of *Wegi'ceka*, p. 291.)

Little can be learned as to the actual appearance of Earthmaker. In the origin myth of the medicine dance he is described as though he were clearly anthropomorphic. The symbol associated with him in the war-bundle feasts, the cross, is unquestionably supposed to represent the four cardinal points.

Earthmaker is not supposed to bestow any definite blessings on man. He is, in a general way, expected to give them life. There is but little real worship of him because he is far removed from man and is supposed to come into relation with them only through his intermediaries, the spirits. According to the cosmological myth he

² The Religion of the North American Indians, Journ. Am. Folklore, vol. 27, no. 108.

- 716 created everything with the definite purpose of benefiting mankind in contrast to the errative acts of the old Trickster. It is very instructive to notice how he gradually usurped the place formerly held by the older spirit-deities and clan ancestors. In the clan origin myths there are a number of versions where he directs certain spirit animals, the ancestors of the clan, to go down to earth, while in other apparently older versions nothing is said of him.

Sun. The sun is known to the Winnebago generally as *ka-ba-wa*, orb of day, and ceremonially as *ka-borud-jan*, day-wandoror. He does not occupy to-day the position he formerly held. There are a number of indications that seem to point to the fact that his worship diminished when that of Earthmaker began to assert itself. Many of his functions and powers were likewise taken over by the Thunderbirds, who, although they distinctly belong to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, have yet assumed their present importance apparently in connection with the development of the Earthmaker belief.

- [773] The sun is occasionally spoken of in myths, but rarely as a culture hero. In only one myth collected was he the hero of the myth. There he appears as the husband of the moon and as an anthropomorphic being who possesses an all-powerful disk (the sun).

- [782] Offerings are frequently made to him, but he rarely blesses an individual. In other words, he is not a true guardian spirit. He only blesses men and upon them he always confers success in war.

Moon. The moon, like the sun, probably formerly occupied a more important place in the Winnebago pantheon. She is a female deity and blesses women, although, like the sun, she is not a true guardian spirit.

- [782] *Earth.* Earth, like the moon, is a female deity. She is one of the oldest deities of the Winnebago and appears as the grandmother in some of the oldest myth cycles, like that of the hare. Offerings are made to her at the various ceremonies, particularly at the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts. She never appears as a guardian spirit.

- [756] The earth is one of the deities who has received considerable interpretation at the hands of the shamans. In the myths she is a purely folk-mythological figure in no way interested in furthering the welfare of mankind. On the contrary, she is spoken of as the sister of those bad spirits who are bent on destroying the human race. Her rôle as a beneficent deity probably developed in connection with that of the hare, her grandchild, according to the old folklore notions, transformed when he became associated with the founding of the medicine dance or its older Winnebago predecessor from a typical trickster to an heroic animal deity.

Morning Star.—This is one of the spirits belonging to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, who apparently was not displaced by

the newer deities. He is both a great deity and a guardian spirit. That he developed out of the indefinite "folklore-spirits" is abundantly attested by the rôle he plays in the myths. 776

Morning Star is preeminently associated with war.

Disease-giver. This is but an approximate translation of his name in Winnebago, which is *hewereta wahira*. He is a very peculiar figure, being described as an anthropomorphic figure, dealing out death from one side of his body and life from the other. He is preeminently a guardian spirit who only appears to the bravest and holiest fasters. His specific blessings seem to be connected with war and the curing of disease. 726
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He appears in none of the myths and in but few of the ceremonies. He plays a very important rôle in the war-bundle feasts.

It is rather difficult to explain his origin. He seems hardly to be a deity of the people and can best be understood, it seems, if we regard him as largely a construction of the shaman. Certain of his characteristics may have been borrowed from some neighboring tribe.

Thunderbird. Thunderbird is another of the older folkloristic conceptions that has been remodeled and reinterpreted by the shamans. He might be said to be the most popular of Winnebago deities. He is found everywhere—in the oldest myths, the clan origin myths, and the newest myths; he is a clan ancestor, a popular guardian spirit, and a popular deity. In contradistinction to practically all of the other deities, he is regarded as easily approachable by man.

To the popular mind he is distinctly theriomorphic in form, causing lightning by the flashes of his eyes and thunder by the flapping of his wings. In some of the versions of the clan origin myth we still find this conception. In the hands of the shamans he became an anthropomorphic deity, characterized by baldness and the wearing of bay wreaths. Something of the older conception still clings to him, however, for he frequently acts as a bird and the flashing of his eyes still causes lightning. His baldness itself is an archaic feature, because the Thunderbird originally was supposed to be a kind of eagle. 756

Many representations of the Thunderbird can be found on various articles and in the clay mounds.

He blesses men with practically everything, but particularly with victory on the warpath. 726

Water-spirit.—The meaning of the Winnebago word for this deity, *wat'evri*, is unknown. The translation "Water-spirit" does not claim to have anything to do with the real meaning of the word, but it was preferred by the Winnebago because this deity is always pictured as a water monster.

He is one of the older folkloristic conceptions and has not been very greatly reinterpreted by the shamans. The Thunderbird is sup- 756

- 776 posed to be at eternal enmity with him, and for that reason he is regarded by most of the Winnebago as a sort of a mixed deity, partly evil and partly good, but always to be feared and capable of bestowing great blessings on man. Owing to the fact that he has become identified as the clan ancestor of one of the most important Winnebago clans, he has undergone a partial rehabilitation.
- [614]

The Water-spirit is an important figure in the older myths, and in them seems to be identified with the bad spirits. The attitude of the Winnebago toward him is full of inconsistencies. He is evil, yet his "bones" are the most prized possessions of man on account of the remarkable power with which they are endowed. He is an evil spirit, yet according to an apparently old myth (the Traveler) one of the Water-spirits is the spirit deity in control of the earth.

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In addition to these marked anthropomorphic and theriomorphic spirit deities, the Winnebago, as mentioned before, have a large number of vague spirits, like fire, light, etc., and a legion of animal spirits. The latter show some interesting transitions extending all the way from purely nonspirit heroic animals to distinct spirits, conceived of as animal in shape but noncorporeal. In many cases it is, of course, quite impossible to say how marked the "spirit" nature of the animal is, because it often depends on who is looking at it. To the ordinary nonreligious Winnebago the hare is mainly an heroic animal; to the religious Winnebago or a member of the medicine dance he is a spirit-animal or even a spirit-deity. In the same way different conceptions are held about the nature of the animal clan ancestors, some thinking of them as heroic animals and others as generalized noncorporeal spirit-animals and spirit-deities. Wherever guardian spirits are animals they also become noncorporeal spirit-animals. One of the reasons given by the Winnebago for the fact that the different guardian spirit-animals do not object to the killing of animals of their own species is because, in killing a bear a Winnebago is not killing his guardian spirit, the bear, for the latter is a generalized spirit-bear in control of all the bears who appear on earth.

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In a number of cases it is not at all difficult to trace the development of a trickster hero, an anthropomorphic hero, or an heroic animal, into a spirit to whom offerings are made. Thus, for instance, kettles and often buckskins are offered to *wak'djepk'a'ga*, hare, and the twins, at the war-bundle feasts.

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THE POWER AND LOCALIZATION OF THE SPIRITS

According to the Winnebago, spirits possess the power of bestowing upon man all those things that are of socio-economic value to him. These may vary from such very important economic things as rain

or success on the warpath to the most insignificant trifles. Practically any spirit, no matter how indefinitely conceived, can bestow generalized blessings. On the whole, however, these powers are conceived of as being in the hands of a comparatively small number, and the same powers are frequently possessed by different spirits. This will become clear after a careful perusal of the fasting experiences. 776 ●

As to the prevalence of the belief in the localization of spirits, not only among the Winnebago but over all North America, there can no longer be any doubt. Among the Winnebago there are as many spirits as there are lakes, hills, rivers, etc., and all these are looked upon from two points of view, first as the bestowers of certain blessings and, secondly, as the protectors of their own precincts. In the first case they are generally identical with the guardian spirits. In the second case they are simply vague, indistinct spirits to whom offerings are made for temporary protection. So when a Winnebago crossed a river or lake he poured tobacco into the water as a recompense for trespassing, and uttered the prayer that no storms should arise or that he should not come to grief. 771

As to whether the spirits here are the lakes, rivers, hills, etc., or some being inhabiting them, the answer is, unquestionably the latter. 782

THE TWOFOLD INTERPRETATION OF THE RELATION OF THE SPIRITS TO MAN

We mentioned before (p. 270) that the interpretation of the relationship between the spirits and man was largely mechanical, blessings being secured apparently independent of any volition on the part of the spirits, for if the Winnebago make the requisite offerings to the Thunderbirds they must accept them and bestow on the suppliant the powers they possess. While this interpretation was undoubtedly the popular one, the shamans tried to develop another explanation what might be called a "contract" theory. The spirits possessed the various powers without which man could achieve only a modicum of success; and man possessed tobacco, corn, eagle feathers, buckskin, etc. His principal possession, however, was tobacco, and this had been given him directly by Earthmaker. The contract was definite and distinct: man was to give the spirits tobacco, etc.; and the spirits were to give man the powers they controlled. Accompanying this change of interpretation, there was a difference of attitude, the principal characteristic of which was a heightened religious feeling. This change of interpretation is clearly shown in the concept of the guardian spirit. 756

THE GUARDIAN SPIRITS

776 In the concept of the guardian spirits we have a mixture of both the "mechanical" and the "contract" theories. The guardian spirits themselves are, to our mind, but the transformed localized spirits; in other words, the *genii loci*. They are supposed to protect the individual to whom they appear in the same way as the *genii loci* protected their precinct. While theoretically every Winnebago could have his own guardian spirit, there seems to have been a marked tendency for certain guardian spirits to be inherited. This was so, not because there was any distinct development of the idea of inheritance, but because certain definite powers were associated with the spirits, like success in hunting, fishing, etc. In terms of everyday life this simply meant that a good hunter would try to make his sons and near relatives good hunters; in religious terminology it meant that a son was blessed by the same guardian spirit as the father. (Cf. the fasting experience on p. 293.)

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424] The following fasting experiences will show clearly what powers are supposed to be possessed by the various guardian spirits. The attitude with which the faster approaches the ordeal clearly varies from that of childish playfulness to one of considerable religious intensity, always remembering that we are dealing with boys and girls before the adolescent stage. Perhaps the best way of putting it would be to say that we are dealing with a stereotyped expression of life, reading as follows: "I am a successful hunter; I am a prominent warrior, etc.; and I am told that I have become such because I have done what my elders told me, have practiced these professions diligently, and made offerings to the spirits." Such a formula might be put in the mouth of the youthful faster, but it meant nothing until it was interpreted much later in terms of each man's experience in life.

[787] The youth's fasting experience is carefully tested by the elders, and if found wanting in any respect the youth has either to try again or give up.

The guardian spirit is not supposed to be in permanent attendance upon man. It is only when he is needed, in the crises of life, that he is brought into relation with man; and it is quite characteristic of the markedly materialistic basis of the belief that the spirit is only called into aid for the particular needs of the case.

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PERSONAL RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCES *

HOW WEGI'CKKA TRIED TO SEE EARTHMAKER *

Once there was a Winnebago whose name was Wegi'ckka. As soon as he was grown up his father begged him to fast. The old man told his son that Earthmaker, when he created this earth, made many good spirits and that he put each one of them in control of powers with which they could bless human beings. Some he placed in control of war powers. If these spirits bless an individual, he will always be victorious on the warpath. Earthmaker told the human beings to fast for these powers and then they would be rich and powerful. Now, my son, if Earthmaker has put all these spirits in charge of something, he himself must be in charge of much more power. Thus the old man reasoned and the son thought the same. So he tried to "dream" of Earthmaker. "I wonder what sort of blessings Earthmaker bestows on people," he thought to himself.

None of the spirits blessed Wegi'ckka during his fastings. He was always thinking of Earthmaker and asking him to bless him. Wegi'ckka made himself extremely "pitiable" and wept. He could not stop. "Perhaps I will be able to see Earthmaker if I weep," he thought to himself. "Indeed, if Earthmaker does not bless me I will die during my fast."

He fasted continuously without stopping. Verily, he fasted for Earthmaker. First he fasted for 4 nights, and then for 6 nights, and then for 8 nights, for 10, and finally for 12 nights. Yet he received no blessing of any kind. After fasting 12 nights he stopped and ate something. He kept fasting on until he had grown to be a fully developed man. Then he stopped and married and, accompanied by his wife, he moved away from his village to some uninhabited place. There he lived alone with his wife. There again he fasted and his wife helped him. As before, he tried to have Earthmaker bestow a blessing upon him. This time he made up

* Some religious experiences belonging to Winnebagos well known to the tribe have been cast in a literary form and handed down from one generation to another. The literary mold in which they have been cast does not in the least interfere with their value as excellent examples of personal experience, and for that reason I will include one of them here.

* Earthmaker is supposed never to bless any human being, but there are a number of accounts of individuals who tried without success, nevertheless, to have him bless them. What the people, however, meant by fast of course was not so much a total fast of course as an incomplete fasting. So, for instance, Wagi'ckka does really receive a curse as a blessing from Earthmaker, and he has the right to call upon him afterwards in the same way as he calls upon other "guardian spirits." Earthmaker does not, however, appear to him in the way an ordinary spirit would—that is, he neither appears to him as a man nor in the form of a voice uttering some blessing, but as a flash of light.

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his mind once and for all that if Earthmaker did not bless him he would die during his fast. "It is true," he said to himself, "that no one has ever heard of anyone being blessed by Earthmaker, but nevertheless I will either obtain a blessing from him or die in the attempt."

As time passed on his wife gave birth to a male child. Then the man said, "We will offer up our son to Earthmaker," and the woman consented. So they sacrificed their son to Earthmaker. Then they placed the body of the child on a scaffold and wept bitterly. "Surely," he said to himself, "Earthmaker will bless us to-night." And indeed during the night he came to him. Wegi'ceka felt positive that it was he. He wore a soldier's uniform and a cocked hat and he was pleasing to the sight. Wegi'ceka looked and wondered whether it was really Earthmaker. Then this person took a step forward toward Wegi'ceka. "Indeed it must be," he thought. Then he took another step in his direction and uttered something. Wegi'ceka looked and saw that it was not Earthmaker but a pigeon. The spirits had fooled him. His heart ached, but, undaunted, he again fasted, and after a while Earthmaker seemed to come to him and say, "Man, I bless you. For a long time you have wept and made yourself pitiable. I am indeed Earthmaker." When Wegi'ceka looked again he beheld something pleasing to the sight and he liked it. The clothing the man wore was pleasing and Wegi'ceka now felt certain that this person was Earthmaker. He looked at him again and it seemed to him as if Earthmaker was getting smaller and smaller, and as he looked for the fourth time he saw that he had been looking at a little bird all the time. Then his heart ached all the more, and he cried even more bitterly than before. Then for the third time Earthmaker blessed him and spoke to him. "You have tried to 'dream' of Earthmaker and you have worried yourself to death. Behold, I am Earthmaker and I will bless you and you will never be in want of anything. You will be able to understand the language spoken by strange tribes and you will never be wanting in the goods of life." Then he looked up for the first time, but when he saw the individual who had spoken to him he thought that there was something wrong. Soon he saw that the one who had spoken to him was a bird.

Then for the last time he tried to "dream" of Earthmaker. He did not eat anything and positively resolved to die if Earthmaker did not appear to him. He felt bad, for he thought that all the bad birds (spirits) were laughing at him.

He fasted, and soon Earthmaker, far above, heard his voice and said, "Wegi'ceka, you are weeping bitterly. For your sake, I will come to the earth." Then Earthmaker told Wegi'ceka that when he (Wegi'ceka) looked at him he would see a ray of light extending from

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above far down to his camp. That far it would reach. "Only thus, 776
Wegi'ceka, can you see me. What you ask of me (to see me face to 787
face) I can not grant you. But, nevertheless, you may tell (your 839
fellowmen) that you saw me." Thus he spoke to him. He did not
bless him with war powers. Only with life did he bless him.

Then Wegi'ceka tried to draw a picture of the flash of light extending from the heavens to his camp, just as he had seen it, upon a cane. To that cane he sacrificed. The descendants of Wegi'ceka are using cane even to the present day.

ACCOUNT OF J.'S FASTING

When I reached the age of puberty my father called me aside and 159
told me to fast. He told me that it was his fervent wish that I should 787
begin to fast, so that I might become holy and invincible and invul- 867
nerable in war. I would become like one of those Winnebagoes of
whom stories are told. In future generations the people would speak
of me often. For these reasons he wished me to fast. He assured
me that if I fasted I would really be holy and that nothing on this
earth would be able to harm me. I would also live a very long life,
he told me. I would be able to treat the sick and cure them. That
holy I would be, he told me. If I acted in this way, my father told
me, no person would dare to make fun of me and they would always
be careful of the manner in which they addressed me, both because
they respected me and because they were afraid of incurring my
enmity. For these reasons my father counseled me to fast and to
continue fasting from the late fall until spring. During that time I
should fast without stopping. In the spring, however, I was to
stop, because many bad spirits are about at that time and they might
deceive me. If he thought that I was not doing enough fasting he
would urge me on with words, saying, "My son, fast, because if you
receive knowledge of anything (i. e., if you have been blessed repeat-
edly), nothing will be able to harm you. You will live long; and I
want you to live long." In this way my father used to speak to me
and in this way he used to plead with me in a piteous manner. "Re-
member," he used to say to me repeatedly, "that if you do not fast
none of the spirits will bless you."

There was a hill near our place called the Place-where-they-keep-159
weapons. This hill was very high and it looked steep and rocky. 787
It must have been a very holy place. There my father had lived 776
(when he was blessed by the spirits). Within this hill lived the
spirits that we call Those-who-cry-like-babies.¹ These spirits were
supposed to have arrows and bows. There were supposed to be
twenty of them in this hill. My father had control of these spirits.

¹ These spirits are the same as those generally known as the Herd's, or Those-without-burns.

159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
 789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
 776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the
 hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath
 pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood
 a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he
 drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one
 arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced
 around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished
 he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it,
 he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned
 into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He
 repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were fol-
 lowing him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you
 wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
 [782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you
 wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
 867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time."
 My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much
 like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it
 would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled
 around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things
 would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I
 did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my
 body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
 787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
 775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost
 village would chase me, but that they would not be able to over-
 take me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached
 the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.²

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed
 that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of
 them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
 787 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
 159 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that
 745 these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not
 supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Super-
 [783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at
 all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

² He is evidently referring to the spirit house of the Shosh'ns, or Tsom-shony-shi-hahns.

E.'s FASTING.

(E. WAS A MEMBER OF THE BEAR CLAN)

159 There was a village near Big Lake (Lake Winnebago), and at this
 787 village the upper people and the earth people played lacrosse.¹ The
 776 Bear was the chief clan of the lower people, and those representing
 that side in the game defeated the representatives of the other side
 by sheer strength. Then one of the upper people said, "What
 effeminate fellows those Bear people are. They are very strong, but
 it would be much better if instead of being so strong in playing
 lacrosse they were strong when on the warpath." Thus he spoke.
 Then one of the Bear people (the one whose fasting is about to be de-
 scribed) felt very much grieved and went out into the wilderness to fast.
 His desire was to be blessed by those spirits who are in control of war,
 and in his longing to be blessed by them he cried bitterly. Soon he
 heard some one saying, "Do not cry any more, we have come after
 you from above. The spirits have blessed you. You are going to
 be taken to the lodge of your friends." When the young man got
 there he saw four men. They were called cannibals, and they were
 brothers. "Our friends have blessed you and we also bless you," said
 the four spirits. These four spirits were catfish. Then some white
 crane spirits said, "Our friends have blessed you. With spears they
 have blessed you. Indeed, for good reason was your heart sad (i. e.,
 did you make yourself suffer while fasting). With victory on the
 warpath do we bless you. Here is your bundle. Here also are your
 spears and your bow and arrows. This bundle you must use when
 you go on the warpath. Here also are some songs to use when you
 start out and when you return. With these songs I bless you.
 Here they are:

[533]

SONGS

Ho'oto k'ioe'dja'w/dja rahi'j?!

When they gathered, those did you go?

K'ioe' hieuk'ioe' ho'giaw'e'm.

Well, my friend, shout at it for him.

[789]

"When the enemy is close upon you and aim their guns at you, if
 you sing these songs they will not be able to hit you. If you sing
 these songs then, those who gave you a name will honor you." Thus
 we bless you. With life also we bless you."

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ARATOGU'KA'S FASTING²

Aratogu'ka, Left-handed-one, went out to fast. "A spirit I wish
 to bless me. I am fasting because I was told to do so. A shaman

¹ In playing lacrosse the upper and lower divisions were always pitted against one another.

² The name is not quite clear here, but it is believed that he means that by singing one of these songs he will be victorious and be able to count coup or distinguish himself in some such way, and thus be worthy of being honored by his allies.

³ This account of a fasting has been sent in a literary style. It certainly relates to the fasting experience of a well-known man.

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I would like to be. I would like to be able to treat people the way ⁷⁷⁶ he does, and I have for that reason blackened my face and fasted for ⁷⁵⁶ eight days." Then I was blessed and they (the messengers of the ¹⁵⁹ spirits) came after me. Up above, to a shaman spirit-lodge they ⁷⁸⁷ took me. There I saw the chief, and he said to me, "What you desire, what you are thirsting yourself to death for, that you are to be blessed with. For that reason these people have brought you here. Here you are to give an exhibition of your powers. I am the one who has caused you to be brought here (i. e., blessed you), I am the ruler of this village and I sent for you to give you the following powers:

"If ever an Indian is sick, even if he is so sick that he is practically dead, I give you the power of restoring him to life. Now you are to show your powers. Here is a log so rotten and decayed that it is practically falling apart." Upon this you are to exert your power and show that you have been blessed. This is what the spirits meant when they blessed you." Then he walked around the log, breathed upon it, and spat water upon it, and it became human. Then he walked around it again and again spat water upon it, and it began to move. Then for the third time he spat water upon it and walked around it and it began to groan. Then he walked around it for the fourth time, and again spat water upon the log, and it got up and walked away. He had restored the log to life. Then the spirit said to him, "Man, with this power you are blessed. That for which you longed, that for which you fasted, you are blessed with. Giving-humans-life, thus the people will call you."

Then all the spirits who are above said as follows: "Brother-in-law," that you may live I am telling you this story."

In the wilderness I went, and there near an oval hill I sat down and wept. Below the hill lay a round lake and there I saw the rising dew coming in a fog. This first spread itself out over us, and then, in turn, shrank and became small. All this time I sat there weeping. There was something moving in the lake, but although I was looking in that direction I did not see anything. They (evidently the spirits) were sneaking up on me. Two (flames of) fire suddenly burst forth extending from above to the lake. Then a report like

¹⁰ This log is supposed to represent a human being in a similar condition - that is, practically on the verge of dissolution.

¹¹ The account is suddenly interrupted here to tell the listener why Arapaho is telling the story of his fasting. The personal religious experiences were very sacred and rarely told even to near relatives. As far as I know, they were only told before death or when a person was very ill, as in the present case. The purpose seems to have been to transfer the benefits of the blessing to the sick person and cure him in much the same way as is done when an accredited shaman goes through his entire performance. Of course, Arapaho's blessing related directly to the curing of illness. But evidently it was believed that blessings connected with other powers were equally efficacious.

756 that of a gun sounded. The two (spirits) were causing it. Suddenly
 159 a great noise was heard. I kept right on crying, for I was trying
 787 to be blessed. I sat there with staring eyes looking at the spirits.
 776 "I must be receiving a blessing," I thought. I continued crying
 and after a short time it began to rain very much. "How is this,"
 I thought to myself, "only a little time before it was so nice and now
 it is raining." Yet in spite of the rain no water seemed to fall upon
 me. "How is it," I thought, "here it is raining and yet no rain is
 falling upon me." Then I looked above and I saw that it was very
 cloudy, yet straight above me in a direct line the sky was blue.
 This blue spot was like a round object covering me as though it
 were an umbrella. The Thunderbirds were blessing me. With the
 blue sky, they were blessing me. Soon the noise stopped, and
 when I looked above I saw four (men) standing with packs upon
 their backs. These (the spirits) killed. Then they blessed me with
 the power of killing. They spoke to me and said, "Stop your crying.
 What you have longed for and fasted for, with that we have blessed
 you. Just as these four men have been killed, so you will be able
 to kill people. But you will also be able to restore them to life
 again. Upon your body now we will make a mark and those whom
 you wish to bless will be given an opportunity of selecting life for
 themselves," so that, even when a person be practically dead he
 will be restored to health. What is above you, the blue sky, that
 we place on one of your fingers," and with that we bless you. If
 the patient picks the finger with the mark upon it, he will live."

The Thunderbirds were the spirits speaking to me. They had
 spears and little war-clubs in their hands and (wreaths) made of
 flat cedar leaves upon their heads. Thus did four Thunderbirds
 bless me.

"Well, brother-in-law, I want you to live and I want you to pick
 life for yourself—i. e., pick the finger with the blue mark upon it.
 Do it carefully and do not attempt it when you are tired. Here are
 my four fingers and one of them has the blue sky upon it (i. e., the
 blue mark that betokens life). If you choose that, you will certainly
 live. You are the second person (to whom I have offered my fingers).
 Now do not miss it, for if you miss it you will surely die. Be careful,
 then, in picking it."

[155] Then the brother-in-law picked the little finger and Aratego'ka
 said, "Brother-in-law, it is good. You will live." Then he turned
 his little finger around and there a circular blue mark was visible.

ACCOUNT OF X.'S FASTING

159 The spirits can bless you with everything. My father used to
 787 tell me how much he loved me and how much he wished me to fast.

* That is, a sick person will have to gaze at the part of the body that has been blessed by the Thunderbirds, and if he gazes correctly he will become well.

* That is, we will place a mark made with blue clay upon your finger.

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He wanted me to fast all the time. I would therefore, to please him, fast off and on through the winter. The longest I ever fasted at any one time was six days. I was blessed by a yellow snake who lived near Medway, Wis. It was at that place that I fasted one winter. The spirit-snake that lives there blessed me with life and the right to draw bad blood from sick people (i. e., "cup blood"). These blessings are truly efficacious, but after they have been handed down to the next generation they lose their power (unless renewed). That same winter, not long before the beginning of spring, I fasted again for four days and early on the morning of the fourth day as I was walking along a ravine, crying and putting myself in a "pitiable condition," so that the spirits might take pity upon me, some one came to meet me. Up to this time, in spite of all my exertions and fastings, I had not been blessed by any of the spirits. The one who was coming toward me was walking very fast and when I stopped to look at him I saw that he was a man. His entire body was painted red and he wore an eagle feather on his head and garters around his legs. When he came near to me he said: "Human, I bless you. You may now go home and eat (i. e., break your fast). Every day I will bring the blessing of life to you. This also (I wish to tell you), if you think of me when you are in any difficulty, you will pass through it safely. The sick you will be able to heal through the blessing I give you. I am the Sun. Even if a day is cloudy, then know that I am keeping life for you beyond the clouds."

HOW Y. FASTED AND WAS BLESSED WITH A WAR-BUNDLE¹⁷

Our war-bundle is eight generations old. In the beginning my clansmen had no war-bundles. Whenever they had war, they had nothing from which to receive strength. The only powerful possession they had was fire. That was the only thing they carried when on the warpath. Soon they discovered that other clans had war-bundles and that they received them by fasting for them. So K'erex u'sak'a started to fast for one. He fasted from early autumn until summer and he received a blessing. Then he went to his father and told him, "Father, you told me to fast. Let us now go and see with what I have been blessed." So the old man accompanied his son.¹⁸ When the old man got there he found a snake dried and dressed up and standing in an upright position. The snake had long hairs on its back, scattered here and there. The father on seeing it said, "My son, this is really too great. If you accept this and carry it with you on the warpath, you will not leave any human beings alive (i. e., you will always want to go on the

¹⁷ This is the account of the origin of a war-bundle claimed to be eight generations old.

¹⁸ Evidently the spirit had told him to go to a certain place and that there he would find certain objects, namely, the material objects with which he had been blessed.

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warpath)." The son therefore refused it, and went out to fast again. Then the spirits blessed him again and again he went to his father and asked to accompany him to the wilderness and see what blessings he had obtained. When they came to the wilderness they found two wild cats (already stuffed) standing there and facing in opposite directions. Then the old man told his son again not to accept this blessing because it would be too powerful," but the young man said, "This is the last blessing that I am going to get," and accepted it.

(What follows was obtained at a later time from the same informant and relating to the same blessing.)

The first blessing K'erex'u'nak'a received was from the Thunderbirds. They dropped a flute and two feathers from heaven. But these he refused. The second blessing was also from the Thunderbirds. This time they told him to go to a certain place where he could see them himself. He went there and found four men sitting there broiling meat. They gave him a piece of meat. It was only when he fasted for the fourth time that he was blessed with a war-bundle.

WHAT G. OBTAINED IN HIS FAST

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I never fasted much. I only fasted three times and I don't believe that I ever fasted for more than two days at a time. However, I never was blessed with anything (i. e., any object). I knew, however, that I came from the home of the Thunderbirds (i. e., that I was a reincarnated Thunderbird). My spirit father and mother" were Thunderbirds. The Thunderbirds are beings whose glance can penetrate any object. For that reason I also can do it. For instance, I have seen a man through a tree. This I did once during a thunderstorm when a man had sought shelter behind a tree.

"Whenever the word 'wilderness' is used all that is meant is an unsheltered place far away from the village.

"By 'too powerful' the old man means that the fasts, offerings, etc., that would be necessary for so great a blessing would be quite beyond the means or the ability of the young man. It is to be remembered that the bestowal of a blessing does not in itself insure its efficacy, but that this can only be assured if the proper offerings and the proper emotional attitude accompany its subsequent use. Evidently the old man did not feel that the young fellow would be equal to the task. I have been told by many of the older Winnebagos that when the old system was still intact the older people always - a. vie it a point to warn impetuous youths against taking upon themselves responsibilities that they might possibly not be able to fulfill, a very excellent device, it seems to me, for not multiplying the chance of failure - and consequently the necessity of explaining them. However, one need not believe that this was the reason for their caution.

"He says 'spirit father and mother' because when he lived with the Thunderbirds he was, of course, a spirit. It is quite impossible to determine whether he means that he was a human being who was living among the spirits as a spirit or whether he was a spirit who had decided to be reincarnated as a human being. Originally, of course, there were no human beings, but only spirits, of whom a portion became permanently transformed into human beings. However, even very powerful shamans never claim more than three reincarnations, so that he can obviously not be referring to this possible condition and is either referring to the fact that he is a Thunderbird residing temporarily on this earth, or - and this would be the more common form - a human being who lived for some time as a Thunderbird and then returned to earth. In the latter case one would expect him to obtain great knowledge in his last, and the fact that he did not and had nevertheless such great powers suggests that he is really a reincarnated Thunderbird.

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me;²² at least I thought so. [759] [776] [787] [786]

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request. [789] [782]

HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN²³

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath. [825] [776] [787]

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this [224] [782]

²² According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he feels no relief until he tells what is on his mind. [795]

²³ This is really the "single myth" of a bear feast.

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blessing last. Should your descendants perform the feasts in my honor well, I will bless them with life and victory on the warpath. Whenever you offer me tobacco I will smoke it. If you put on a kettle of food for me I will be thankful to you. When you put this kettle of food on the fire and offer me tobacco see to it that you keep away menstruating women . . . "

HOW THE DAUGHTER OF MANK'EREXKA REFUSED A BLESSING
FROM INKANE-UYER ²

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The daughter of Mank'erexka was fasting. She was his third daughter. She decided to fast during the summer. In her fast she was told that she was blessed and that on the following day a big deer would come across the waters for her to eat. Then she went to her father and said, "Father, I have been told to eat a big deer, and that to-morrow very early in the morning it will come out of the water." "It is good, my daughter. That deer has been given to you by the spirits and you may eat it."

Early the next morning a big deer came across the waters. "Let it be," the people said (to her). "As soon as it comes near we will chase it." So they got into a boat and chased it. Then they killed it and gave it to some other person instead of the young woman. "My daughter, what are you going to do? Are you going to eat the deer?" "No, father, if I were to eat the deer I would have killed it myself. But you people have killed it, so I will not eat any of it."

Then she rubbed some charcoal on her face and went to the place of fasting and said, "What you (the spirits) gave me others have taken away and eaten." Early in the morning she looked around toward the water. She was very weak, for she had not eaten for a long time. Nine days she fasted. She was saying to herself, "As soon as I see a deer I will tell the others and call my father." In the morning she went out in search of the deer. She was so weak that she could hardly crawl along. But she managed to reach the edge of the waters and, as she looked across, she saw a deer coming. So she immediately went to her father and told him. He got up immediately and, taking a spear, jumped into a boat, pursued, and speared it. Then the girl said, "Now I will eat." So they called her uncle, Wolf and Elk.³ When they came she put tobacco in their hands and said, "My uncle, I have offered tobacco to the different spirits and asked them to bless me. Now I am about to eat and I would

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² The rest of the story is a description of a bear feast and how, in spite of the warning of the spirit-feast two menstruating women took part in the feast; how, therefore, two bears nobly appeared and killed them, and how for that reason the bear feast was given up.

³ This account has been told in a literary mold, but there is no doubt that it represents a real fasting experience. It is included here principally because it contains a number of extremely interesting features.

⁴ These are the names of individuals.

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like to have you put some food in your mouth."²² "My niece, it is 787
good. You have indeed made yourself 'pitiable.' You have 159
thirsted yourself to death and I, too, pity you. If any spirit has 776
blessed you, he has done so with good reason. I, too, once thirsted
myself to death and the spirits blessed me with life. With this life,
my niece, I also bless you. I will gladly partake of your feast."
Thus spoke Wolf. Then Elk said, "My niece, I, too, was told to
fast: and in my fast the spirits blessed me with the power of having
complete control over all my actions. This dream (i. e., the bless-
ings I obtained) I now give to you." With these blessings you will
be able to live as you desire. I will now gladly partake of your
food."

When they were through eating, she also ate, and then they all
went home. After a while her father said to her, "My daughter, I
am going to ask you a question. It is said that those who have
been blessed might tell their dreams if they were asked." "All
right," said the daughter, "I will tell you. Eight days I fasted and
then the spirits blessed me. They told me that if at the end of four
days I should place offerings south of the place known as the Big
Kddy and situated down the stream the powers with which I had
been blessed would be shown to me. The one who blessed me was
the chief of the Wak'si-té, the spirits who live in the earth. He
said that Earthmaker had created him and given him great power;
that he had placed him in charge of 'life.' In four days he told
me, 'I will appear to you. The day on which I appear to you will
be a perfect day. Whatever you wish to make for yourself, you may
do. You will never be in want of anything, for you can make imple-
ments for yourself out of my body. With these I bless you, for you

²² The feast referred to here is the feast called *Wak'si-té* or *Wak'si-té* feast. It is given
whenever a man or woman who has been blessed is about to break his fast. At this feast it is customary,
as with the *Wak'si-té* feast, for the father to narrate his blessing. However, these feasts have now been
discarded for so long a time that it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information.

²³ The transference of certain blessings is very common, but, in my knowledge, it is rarely done in this
manner. As a rule if a person was unable to obtain blessings, he sought to effect this transfer in life by
purchasing supernatural powers from some of his more successful fellow-men. However, these powers
seem to be connected almost exclusively with medicine. That blessings such as those bestowed upon
individuals during their fast, such as long life, invulnerability, hunting powers, etc., were transferred, does
not seem probable, although it is, of course, possible. The writer was told of a number of cases where this
seemed to have been the case, but on closer study it was conclusively shown that no real transference had
taken place, but that in these instances where a person had said, "I transfer this and that dream to you,"
the transference had no validity unless the individual to whom the dream had been bequeathed actually
fasted and obtained the same dream. An individual would in such a case always be careful to select as
his "dream-brother" one who would in all likelihood obtain the same dream. It is only in this sense that
one might actually speak of a transference. In those instances where a man is blessed with supernatural
powers that are to extend to all his posterity (that is what is really meant, namely, an infinite repetition of
the same blessing, one that has, however, become so certain within definite families that it might be con-
sidered automatic).

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● 776 have made yourself suffer very much" and my heart has been rent with pity for you. I bless you, therefore, with life, and this you may transmit to your descendants.' All this, father, the spirit said to me." "My daughter, it is not good. These spirits are trying to deceive you. Do not accept it. They will never bestow upon you what they have promised." "All right, father, but let me at least give them the offerings of deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. I will not accept these blessings, for you forbid it."

Then after four days she took her offerings to the place where she was to meet the spirit and told him that her father had forbidden her to accept the blessing. "'You are not a good spirit,' he said." "He is right, for one side of my body is not good but the other is," answered the spirit. "That is the way in which Earthmaker created me." Thus the wak'ai'ten spoke." Then the woman looked toward the lake and she saw a tree standing in the water. The spirit climbed upon this tree and wrapped himself around it. Then he took a tooth and shot the tree and knocked it down." "This is what you would have been able to do," said the spirit. "The people would have respected you very much. You would have been able to cure weak or nervous people. But you did not listen to what I told you. You refused it."

FASTING EXPERIENCE

(INFORMANT, CLAN UNKNOWN)

A man fasted and was finally blessed. When he was to be blessed a spirit came after him. He came from the south. "Human," he said, "I was told to come after you." Then the man looked at him and he saw that it was a man speaking to him. So he went along with him. He did not go far before he came to a village and in the middle of this village he saw a long lodge. There he was taken and there he was blessed. The one that was in charge of the village blessed him first.

[726
782] "I bless you with victory in wars. Whenever you go on the war-path and when you are about to make the rush, do not forget me. If you pour some tobacco for me and then fight, the enemy will not be able to kill you. I am in charge of wars."

* When people are blessed by the Water-spirits they make medicines from the bones of the spirits. They are also supposed to make what the Winnebago call "implements." What is actually meant by this term it is very difficult to state precisely. But it seems that they meant sharpened bone, etc., used in connection with the administration of medical medicines in painting the body, and in connection with Shamanistic practices of all sorts. It is not common for other spirits beside the Water-spirits to bless an individual with the use of "his bones," but this is occasionally met with. In the trickster cycle the trickster, in one of his incarnations, is supposed to enter the skull of an old man, and he persuades the people that he is an old spirit and blesses them and permits them to use his bones.

* This characteristic would seem to identify the wak'ai'ten with the disease-giver, although it is possible that a number of Winnebago deities had such characteristics.

* This is a syncretistic representation of the powers she was given.

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So he spoke to him. "Thus will your life be. Look at yourself." So he looked at himself and his hair was very white. As one who had attained a full life he saw himself. "All that are within this lodge bless you," the spirit continued. "You have come to the Buffalo village." This he was told, so he looked at the lodge full of people. And those whom he had seen up to that time as human beings now were buffaloes. 787
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"Human, they bless you is why they went after you. Human, if anyone is weighted with life and a reasonable amount of tobacco is given, such a one would be able to do the following":

A dead man was placed in the middle of the lodge, and all of those in the lodge tried their power, but none succeeded in restoring him to life. At last the spirits let the man try it. So he tried. When he arose, all those in the lodge began to make sounds and when he began to exert his powers he sang buffalo songs. When he was through with these songs, he walked toward the dead man, in the middle of the lodge. He blew on him once, then again and again. Now the man began to open his eyes. Then he blew on him for the fourth time and he caused him to rise. 787
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"Human, you have overcome all of us," said the buffalo chief. "Human, thus shall you ever do to people. If anyone is sick and the proper offerings are made to you, send some tobacco to our council lodge and I will remember you. You must send all the tobacco that is offered to you. I will remember it. This council lodge is given to you and to your posterity as long as it lasts. As long as the earth lasts that long your posterity will have occasions on which to pour tobacco. Whatever blessing they ask, we will bestow upon them while we smoke their tobacco. As many as are the kettles that they offer to us, we will never accept one without giving them a blessing. We are in control of wars; the Earthmaker has given us control of them, and if you ask for it we will give it to you. And if you ask for life we will bestow that blessing upon you and accept your offerings." [752]

They also blessed him with plants for medicine. This is the way they did it. Each of the spirits caused him to see a plant and to know the purposes to which it could be put. They told him to make offerings to the plants whenever he gave a feast, so that the plants would become more powerful. They also blessed him with a drum. "This you must beat when you give a feast and it will tell us your wants. We will understand the drum. We will make your drum holy for you, and you must treat it as such," they told him. "You must keep it holy. Whenever you are on the warpath you must take it with you and it will help you. Human, your enemies you will overcome; your weapons only will be sharp if your posterity will never give up this ceremony." So they spoke to him. "Whenever [278]
[752]
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So they spoke to him, "Whenever

787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also

[534]

[778]

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keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred." They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail. These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them. This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him—a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

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"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it, remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

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Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

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ask of me I will always take it into consideration. If they ask for war or if they ask for life, remember that I have been given control of these things." Thus spoke the buffalo-ghost. There he received all the things with which he was blessed. 159 787 776

In the course of his life he made use of all his blessings. His first victory occurred when he went on the warpath for the first time. He had joined a war party and a fight occurred toward the evening of the same day. As he was walking along he suddenly saw a gun directed against him at close range. He jumped right and left and in that way escaped being shot. Then the enemy tried to capture the one who had been blessed by the buffalo, holding him tightly by the arm. But he struck the enemy twice against an object and tore his stomach open. Then he walked away. As he was going he thought to himself, "Why did I not kill him outright?" So he went back with the intention of doing this, but as he approached the man the latter directed a gun against him. Thinking, however, that it was not loaded, he did not dodge, and he was shot. His breast was filled with shot and he was killed. But he did not remain dead long. He soon came to consciousness and sat up, uttering sounds like a buffalo. 787 776 726

Then he remembered that a buffalo ghost had blessed him. He had indeed said to him, "When you are about to fight do not forget me." He remembered this, so he exerted his power. All the blood that was in his stomach he vomited forth and felt better. Just then one of his relatives came along and asked him, "How have you been getting along?" and he answered, "I have killed one. There lies his body. Take his scalp for me." "All right," said his relative, and did what he had been told, and brought it to him, saying, "Here it is." A horse was there also, and this the relative likewise led away and started back to (the camp). When he met the war leader, the latter asked him, "How have you been making out?" He answered, "I give you these trophies," and handed the leader the scalp and the horse. "Ah, it is good," he said, and put a wampum belt on him. Then the war leader sang a song and started to run, and the buffalo-blessed one reminded himself of his blessing and went back also. He was all shot to pieces. But he did not die, for he had been blessed with power, so how could he die? The buffalo ghost he had seen with flattened bullets in his belt had fulfilled his promise, and the wampum belt that he had seen in his fasting had now become true. 727

He went to many wars after this, but he was never harmed. He doctored many people and caused them to have more life. After a while he made a war bundle consisting of a flute that he had constructed himself, a buffalo tail, and a buffalo head. Then he made offerings to them. These many things he made sacred. Since then buffalo feasts have been given. 756 778

J. B.'S FANTING EXPERIENCE

159 I fasted all the time. We moved back to a place where all the
787 leaders used to give their feasts. Near the place where we lived
there were three lakes and a black hawk's nest. Right near the tree
where the nest was located they built a lodge and the war-bundle
that we possessed was placed in the lodge. We were to pass the
night there, my older brother and myself. It was said that if anyone
[754] fasted at such a place for four nights he would always be blessed
with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would
bless him.

159 "The first night spent there one imagined himself surrounded by
787 spirits whose whisperings were heard outside of the lodge," they
776 said. The spirits would even whistle. I would be frightened and
nervous, and if I remained there I would be molested by large mon-
sters, fearful to look upon. Even (the bravest) might be frightened,
I was told. Should I, however, get through that night, I would on
the following night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speak-
ing outside. They would say things that might cause me to run
away. Toward morning they would even take my blanket away from
me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge,
and they would not stop until the sun rose. If I was able to endure
the third night, on the fourth night I would really be addressed by
spirits, it was said, who would bless me, saying, "I bless you. We
had turned you over to the (monsters, etc.) and that is why they
approached you, but you overcame them and now they will not be
able to take you away. Now you may go home, for with victory and
long life we bless you and also with the power of healing the sick.
Nor shall you lack wealth (literally, 'people's possessions'). So go
home and eat, for a large war-party is soon to fall upon you and as soon
as the sun rises in the morning they will give the war whoop, and if
you do not go home now they will kill you."

Thus the spirits would speak to me. However, if I did not do the
bidding of this particular spirit, then another one would address me
and say very much the same thing. So the spirits would speak until
the break of day, and just before sunrise a man in warrior's regalia
would come and peep in. He would be a scout. Then I would
surely think a war party had come upon me, I was told.

Then another spirit would come and say, "Well, grandson, I have
taken pity upon you and I bless you with all the good things that
the earth holds. Go home now, for the war-party is about to rush
upon you." And if I then went home, as soon as the sun rose the
war-whoop would be given. The members of the war-party would
give the war-whoop all at the same time. They would rush upon me
and capture me and after the fourth one had counted coup, then

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they would say, "Now then, grandson, this we did to teach you. ¹⁵⁹
Thus you shall act. You have completed your fasting." Thus they ¹⁸⁷
would talk to me, I was told. This war-party was composed entirely ⁷⁷⁶ ●
of spirits, I was told, spirits from the heavens and from the earth:
indeed, all the spirits that exist would be there. These would all
bless me. They also told me that it would be a very difficult thing
to accomplish this particular fasting.

So there I fasted, at the black hawk's nest where a lodge had been
built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when things
would happen; but nothing took place. The second night, rather
late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and
taking a gourd out, began to sing. I stood beside him without any
clothing on me except the breech-clout, and holding tobacco in each
hand I uttered my cry to the spirits as my father sang. He sang
war-bundle songs and he wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered
my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred
stories, and then went home.

When I found myself alone I began to think that something ought
to happen to me soon, yet nothing occurred, so I had to pass another
day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited
me again and we repeated what we had done the night before. In
the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry to the spirits.
The fourth night found me still there. Again my father came and
we did the same things, but in spite of it all, I experienced nothing
unusual. Soon another day dawned upon us. That morning I
told my elder brother that I had been blessed by spirits and that I
was going home to eat. However, I was not telling the truth. I
was hungry and I also knew that on the following night we were
going to have a feast and that I would have to utter my cry to the
spirits again. I dreaded that. So I went home. When I got there
I told my people the story I had told my brother; that I had been
blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was not speaking
the truth, yet they gave me the food that is carefully prepared for
those who have been blessed. Just then my older brother came
home and they objected to his return, for he had not been blessed.
However, he took some food and ate it.

That night we gave our feast. There, however, our pride received
a fall, for although it was supposedly given in our honor, we were
placed on one side (of the main participants). After the kettles of
food had been put on twice, it became daylight.

HOW A MAN DEFIED DISEASE-GIVER

Once a man said, "Why do you always make offerings and feasts ⁷⁷⁶
to the Disease-giver? What benefit has he ever been to you that ⁷⁸⁷
you do it? If I were ever to see him, I would kick him off the earth.
The only thing he can give you is disease."

776 In the fall of the year in which the man said this the people, as
787 usual, went out hunting and the man got lost and was forced to
camp out in the wilderness overnight. So he built a fire and sat
alongside of it. Suddenly he saw a man coming toward him. As
soon as the stranger came up to him he took a seat on the opposite
side of the fireplace. Then the stranger said, "I am the one whom
you threatened to kick off this earth whenever you met him. You,
furthermore, boasted that I could not kill you." Then he pointed
his finger in a line with the man's heart. But the man remained
seated near the fireplace without moving. Then he did this again,
yet the man still remained in his former position. Then the third
time he did it and said, "In the center of the heart." The man,
however, remained seated just as before. Then the stranger
exclaimed, "Who are you anyhow?" and pointed his finger at him.
But the man did not move. Then the stranger (Disease-giver)
pleaded with the man to die so that it might not be said that he had
failed in the "mission" for which he had been created. He promised
the man that if he would oblige him and die he could come back to
earth again within four days. Finally the man consented. He
went home and told his folks that he was going to a certain place to
die for the space of four days and that they should, under no con-
787 ditions, go to see him there, for in that case he would surely die.
776 Then he dressed himself in his best clothes and went to the place
where he was to meet Disease-giver. (He rested his head against a
tree and died.) However, on the third day his wife could not resist
the desire to see him, so she went to the place where her husband
was leaning against the tree. Then he really died. After his death
a red spot was visible upon his forehead.*

METHODS OF BRINGING THE SPIRITS INTO RELATION WITH MAN

785 *Fasting.*—Fasting has been discussed before. There are two things
to be remembered in connection with it—first, that it is a method of
superinducing a religious feeling; and, secondly, that this religious
feeling in turn is bound up with the desire for preserving and per-
petuating socio-economic life values. Among the Winnebago the
desirability of the conditions superinduced by fasting lay not so
much in the emotional pleasure it gave, although this is not to be
underestimated, as in the belief which the shamans had developed,
that such a state was essential for placing people in a position
enabling them to overcome certain crises in life, which it was reason-
able to believe might take place.

787 *Mental concentration.*—To the religiously inclined Winnebago the
153 efficacy of a blessing, of a ceremony, etc., depended upon what they

* This is not supposed to be a myth but the real experience of a man named Jumbo Smith.

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called "concentrating one's mind" upon the spirits, upon the details of the ritual, or upon the precise purpose to be accomplished. All other thoughts were to be rigidly excluded, they believed. This was the insistent admonition of the Winnebago elders to the youth who was fasting. He was to center his mind completely on the spirits, for his blessing would be in direct proportion to the power of concentration he was capable of. The Winnebago believed that the relation between man and the spirits was established by this concentration and that no manner of care in ritualistic detail could take its place. Very frequently failure on a warpath or lack of efficacy of a ritual was attributed to the fact that the Indian or Indians had been lacking in the intensity of their "concentration." [154]

Offerings and sacrifices.—The theory of offering and sacrifice held by the Winnebago has been discussed before. To the important deities offerings were made at the great ceremonies. These offerings consisted of tobacco preeminently, buckskins, and whatever the particular spirit was supposed to like. The animal spirits were given their favorite foods—honey to the bear, for instance. Dogs were offered to Disease-giver at the war-bundle feasts. Whether human sacrifices ever existed it is difficult to say. In the tale of Wepi'cks a child is offered to Earthmaker, and there is reason to believe that this may represent a survival of human sacrifice. 782

Tobacco could be offered at any time and was so offered to the various *genii loci* whenever an individual passed their precincts. 776

Prayers.—For examples of prayers reference must be made to the descriptions of the ceremonies. Among the Winnebago, and doubtless everywhere else, the objects of the prayer are always the socio-economic life values. What in these values is stressed depends upon the ambitions of the individual, and consequently it happens that individuals may pray for abstract blessings or ideal objects, although this is rare. Prayers are undoubtedly always accompanied by a religious feeling when made by the religious man, but frequently become mere formulas in the hands of the lay Indian.

THE FOLKLORE CONCEPTS

The concept of evil.—It is extremely difficult to understand exactly what the Winnebago concept of evil is. They undoubtedly postulate the existence of evil and they have theoretically a host of evil spirits, the *wazop'i'si cici't*. Youth will be warned not to fast at certain times and children will carefully be kept at home after dark for fear of the evil spirits. Yet in spite of all this, no even fairly definite idea of what these evil spirits are and what they look like can be obtained. One almost gets the impression that the notion of evil spirits belongs to an older strata of Winnebago beliefs and that what we find to-day [912] 776

776 is but a faint survival of former times. The older myths are full of references to the evil spirits, and the cosmological myths represent the world as infested with evil spirits who are on the point of exterminating the human race until the culture heroes come to the rescue. It would almost seem as if, from a purely matter-of-fact point of view, these early culture heroes had destroyed all the evil spirits. Certainly they are not regarded as of great consequence, for if they were we ought to find a certain number of prayers addressed to them asking them not to harm anyone. They seem to be mere bogies, personifications of fear, and that is perhaps why they are so intimately connected with darkness.

312 At the present time the vast majority of Winnebago ascribe evil, in so far as they explain it at all, to three causes: either to some failure on their part to perform a rite in the prescribed way, to the fact that they have not invoked the spirits for protection (i. e., attempted to pass through life without the aid of the spirits), or to the evil machinations of other men. (Often one derives the impression that they accept evil and do not try to explain it. It seems to be a trait characteristic of the Winnebago, and perhaps characteristic of other North American tribes, that explanations are developed for the positive aspects of things. Certainly it would require some thought on the part of a Winnebago to explain why a war party that had, in the opinion of the chief, all the necessary requirements for victory, should nevertheless be defeated. He would doubtless find some reason, after a while, but it would be an afterthought and would probably vary from individual to individual. In some cases lack of success would be ascribed to the fact that an individual had been misled by an evil spirit, but this is clearly a secondary explanation because the individual, when questioned, would admit that he had no way of telling whether this was so until he had failed in something. We base this statement on an actual instance.

76 There is some evidence to show that there may have originally existed among the Winnebago a belief that the spirits were neither good nor bad; that they could be either at different times. In two notable instances, that of Disease-giver and Water-spirit, this is true at the present time. The former deity is the only one to whom prayers are addressed beseeching him not to present to man his death-dealing side.

[192] In the myths we find a definite incarnation of evil in the case of a spirit called *Herrege'nina*. The meaning of this word as given by a Winnebago, and which seems to be justified, is "he whose existence is doubtful." If this is an old Winnebago word it would confirm the view advanced above, that the Winnebago were not very much concerned about the evil spirits. There is, however, a possibility [177] that *Herrege'nina* is, in part, a post-Columbian development due

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to Christian influence. The one place where he plays an important rôle, the myth of the twins, shows definite indications of European influence. The only thing that militates against such an assumption is the fact that there does not seem to be any particular reason why the existence of a chief evil spirit should have been doubted, even if we were to grant that Christian influence extended the belief. The French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a very definite idea of the devil and made it a point to tell the Indians that all their former habits were due to deceptions the devil had practiced upon them. To-day such an answer is the first that a Christianized Winnebago or a member of the new Peyote cult will give an ethnologist. Perhaps, after all, it is a very old Winnebago conception, a confirmation of the view promulgated before, that in former times the Winnebago had a very definite conception of evil spirits taking an active part in the affairs of man to his detriment. The figure of *Hercegnina* is well defined and it would be ridiculous, in our opinion, to believe that the shamans would have done anything to develop it. We have clear indications of what the shamans were trying to do with this conception. They were attempting to bring it into some relation with the concept of Earthmaker, a beneficent All-Father, and to do so they were even willing to claim that *Hercegnina* was the first attempt of Earthmaker to create a spirit; that Earthmaker was dissatisfied with his work and threw it away; that then *Hercegnina* watched Earthmaker create spirits and imitated him, the evil spirits representing these imitations. The shamans, we should expect, would have done all in their power to lessen the importance of *Hercegnina*, even to deny his existence, and, in this connection, it may be of significance that one Winnebago interpreted his name to mean, "He-who-seems-to-exist-but-who-does-not."

Whatever the case may be, this much is clear, that in the twin myth he is represented as a deity as powerful as Earthmaker, whom Earthmaker can not destroy; upon whom the twins play jokes but whom they cannot really harm.

The concept of disease.—Disease is rarely ascribed to the spirits. Like lack of success, it is regarded as a fact of existence, and when it is explained it is believed to be due either to the carelessness of man in trying to pass through life without the aid of the spirits or to the evil machinations of other men.

The deity known as Disease-giver is the one exception to the rule that the Winnebago spirits do not directly cause disease, for he is sometimes described as scattering death broadcast over the earth.

The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.—Death is rarely, if ever, ascribed to the spirits. It likewise is a fact of existence and,

761 when explained, is laid at the door of some evil man. Death at old
 776 age is clearly taken for granted. Where explanations are advanced,
 [754] they are always for the deaths of individuals before their time, or
 at least before what the Winnebago consider their time.

761 The Winnebago look at death in two ways—as being, first, a different
 kind of consciousness from that possessed in life, and, secondly,
 as being a cessation of certain kinds of intercourse between individuals.
 Death is regarded as a "stumbling," after which the individual goes
 right on as if nothing had happened. He does not know he is dead
 until he sees his body. The individual is divested of all his corporeal
 investment and desires. In the myth of the journey of the soul to
 spirit land the ghost is not entirely a spirit until the old woman
 [713] whom he meets brains him, thus, by destroying the seat of consciousness,
 depriving him of all corporeality and carnal desires. The ghost then becomes a spirit, in some cases of the same type as
 the true spirits.

761 Although the Winnebago know that after death they will never see
 775 people again, they do not feel that all kinds of intercourse have
 ceased. The deceased may appear to a living individual in dreams
 or visions; he may talk to him or make his presence felt in a multitude
 of ways; and since, as we pointed out before, the test of existence
 is the consciousness of some kind of contact, such intercourse
 may be of a very intense type.

This lack of a feeling of discontinuity between the living and the
 dead is emphasized by the Winnebago concept of after-life and
 reincarnation.

775 After-life is but life on earth, only idealized. Everything is provided.
 All carnal desires have been done away with and men and
 women spend their time in one long round of enjoyment and bliss.
 Something of the fear of ghosts lingers here, however, for when living
 individuals try to reach spirit land—and a number of such instances
 are mentioned in the myths, particularly in the origin myth of the
 Ghost dance—these spirits are likely to be harmful.

By the belief in reincarnation the Winnebago entirely bridge the
 gulf between life and death. In other words, we seem to have a
 cycle consisting of life (consciousness), after-life (unconsciousness
 from a corporeal viewpoint), and life (reincarnation). To live again
 is the greatest desire of the Winnebago, and practically every secret
 society holds this out as the lure to the outsider. If you join the
 Medicine Lodge you will become reincarnated, they say, and the other
 ritualistic organizations make the same claim. But not only by
 joining an organization is it possible to be reincarnated; if you live
 an upright life, if you die on the battlefield, reincarnation also awaits
 you:

PART III

CHAPTER XII

CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

INTRODUCTION

The Winnebago had four types of ceremonies: clan ceremonies, 796 in which only members of the clan could participate; religious societies, for which only people who had obtained blessings from the same spirits were eligible; the Medicine Dance, in which only initiated individuals could take part; and a semipermanent organization like the *kok'ize're* dance, in which only individuals who were returning from a war party and had counted coup could participate. In this grouping we do not include ordinary feasts, such as the feasts connected with different medicines and the pleasure dances.

Every clan seems to have had a clan war-bundle feast (often called 796 winter feast) and also a specific clan feast. We have reason to suspect 614 that the war-bundle feasts were originally private feasts given by 778 the owner of a war bundle. Then as the war bundles became of great importance to the clan to which the owners belonged, they were after a while regarded as clan possessions. But even at the present time, while many would contend that the war bundle belonged to the clan as such and could not be alienated, everyone realizes that it is the property, whether held in trust or not, of a certain individual, and that he can, up to a certain point, do what he wishes with it. For a detailed analysis of a winter or war-bundle feast see page 427.

The clan feasts were specific feasts at which offerings were made to the clan animal. A good description of one is that of the Snake 796 614 clan on page 325. [778]

Perhaps the most characteristic ceremonies of the Winnebago were those of secret societies in which membership was dependent upon blessings from one and the same spirit. There were at least four of 575 these—the society of those who have been blessed by the night spirits, 796 the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, the society of those who have been blessed by ghosts, and the society of those [778] who have been blessed by grizzly bears.

In order to prevent any misunderstanding with regard to the buffalo societies, it might be well to point out that there were three of them—

to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was ⁶¹⁴ about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls ⁷⁷⁶ some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. ³⁴¹

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a ^[776] spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had ⁶⁸⁸ eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them.

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be ⁷⁹⁶ obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare those ⁶¹⁴ chickens and make the general preparations.

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is ^[825] their night, and then they go to sleep.

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and ^[773] which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken.

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator be- ^[782] tween the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it.

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who ⁷⁹⁶ stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the ⁶¹⁴ interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that ⁵³⁷ ³⁷²

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THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE

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The host at the same time puts himself in readiness to receive the guards.

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The two drums to be used are placed in the proper position with tobacco on top as an offering. The two guards to be used are arranged in the same way, with offerings of tobacco on top. These four articles are placed in a row in front of the host, who pours tobacco upon them again and asks them for life.

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The host now rises and speaks as follows (first, however, offering tobacco to the fire, and telling the people of his own band how he had obtained his blessing, and from what source it had come):

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"Grandfathers, when you blessed my grandfather with life you promised that as often as we would boil food for you and offer you a pipeful of tobacco, you would smoke it. So it has been said. Boiled water from an animal whom you considered the same as our own body, and spirit food he extended to you, as well as a pipeful of tobacco. This we also are sending you. And what could we ask of you in return but war! That it may be directed toward us, we pray you. Grandfathers, you who are called Happy Nights, when you blessed our grandfather you blessed him with endless war. So it has been said. That is what we ask for, that as you blessed our grandfather, so you bless us. We ask for the same things. You, likewise, grandfather, you who are called The-one-with-rounded-wood, when you blessed my grandfather you blessed him with life. That is what he said, and you asked him in return to make offerings of tobacco. Here is the tobacco. This night we are going to ask life of you. We desire that you give us and all who will be here to-night, life. As many people as will be seated here, we ask life for all of them."

Then all who are present rise and, holding tobacco in each hand, walk around the lodge, pouring tobacco on the drums and the guards, and some of it into the fire. They pour tobacco into the fire for the Night Spirits. For the Beings-with-rounded-wood they offer tobacco by pouring it upon the drums. The offering is made both to the drums and to the guards directly. The tobacco bundles tied to the invitation sticks are offered to the four cardinal points and the four specially invited guests smoke this tobacco, because they are supposed to represent the four cardinal points. Behind the respective invited guests are placed two women, next to the wall, so that they might lead in the dance. When the invited guests come to the front these women remain outside until the starting songs have been begun.

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The host sings these songs first and when he has finished the first invited guest enters the lodge, ejaculating peculiar sounds (that are probably meant as greetings). Continuing these sounds, he walks around the lodge until he comes to the place from which he has started. There he stops and speaks. "You who obtain life, you

that council, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. It is ⁷⁹⁶ good that you have taken pity upon me. All those that I have ⁷⁷⁶ along with me, my relatives, you have caused them to think that ⁵³⁹ they were to obtain life; that a great life was to come to us through ⁵⁷⁵ you. And all this you have done when we were leading worthless lives. It is good. If such an invitation were to be extended to people when they are sick and weakly, it would heal them; it would overcome their illness, it is said. It is good. When I think that our sick people will get well by reason of this feast, I am thankful. Up to the present our children have all been sickly, but from now on we will have no cause to worry. I am thankful. The principal tree of the night-soldiers, standing in front of their doorway and which is in full bloom, has not a dead leaf upon it, not one that has dried. It is beautiful to look upon. They obtained it for us and caused it to come down to us, and we feel grateful. It will strengthen our families. This lodge that we have entered is like the first lodge (the night-soldiers' lodge), and just as we were strengthened by it, so will we surely be strengthened by entering this lodge to-day. In the night-soldiers' lodge fine white feathers are scattered all over the ground, ankle deep, it is said. As we are about to go over the pass, we certainly will be strengthened thereby. The lodge of the night-soldiers was fair to behold from the inside, we are told. We will consider ourselves blest with life to-day, even although we are not children of the night-blessed ones, and even although we will not be able to conduct ourselves as it is meet. We will, however, do what we can in order to obtain life. You children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated around here, I greet you."

Then he sings the entrance songs and walks around the lodge. [533] His singing is generally finished at about the time that he has made the complete circuit of the lodge. Then he starts around the lodge again uttering the peculiar sounds mentioned before, until he comes to the seat of the host. There he stops and makes a circle in the air (with his hand) and addresses him as follows:

"I greet you. A great day has come to me and all my relatives have tasted thereof in the hope that they might thereby be strengthened. I have also brought along with me a pipeful of tobacco to be given to you, that we may all be strengthened. So it is said. It is for that reason that I am acting thus and am greeting you."

With these words he concluded and walked to the place that had been assigned him in the lodge, opposite the host and, still standing, he said the following: "Children of the night-blessed spirits who are seated here around me, I greet you all. The councilor, I mean the host, has seen fit to give me and my relatives a seat. We will sit in it so that we may be strengthened thereby. We will now take our seats, but before that let me send forth my greetings to all."

796 Then the second invited guest enters. He utters the same sounds
 776 as his predecessors and makes the circuit of the lodge. When he
 539 reaches the place from which he started he stops and addresses the
 575 host as follows:

"Councilor, you who obtain life, relatives who are seated here, I greet you all, and your seats do I greet likewise. You that are seated in the first place, I greet you, too. All you children of the night-blessed spirits who are in this lodge, I greet you. It is good that you wish me to live; that I am here. I am not a child of a night-blessed one, that this invitation should have been extended to me, but you probably knew the nature of my life and that is why, I suppose, you extended this honor to me. My relatives are even greater weaklings in the properties and goods of life than I am. That happens to be our manner of life. It is good. Henceforth we shall be stronger as we journey through life. Our men, women, and children shall all live in peace. As many of us as are living to-day, that many shall continue to live (on account of my participation in this ceremony). I am thankful.

"Of all the spirits that exist, these truly are in control of most life. So it is said of the Night Spirits. This is a great thing. These spirits have given us the occasion for a great counciling. Many of us are not able to take part in it, especially the one now speaking. The songs that have been used by our fathers we will not be able to sing, but whatever we say I know will be acceptable to you, children of the night-blessed spirits. I send forth greetings to you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and after he had made the circuit of the lodge, he sang another one. Then he went around the lodge again making his strange utterances, until he came in front of the host. Here he made a circle (with his hand) and stopped. Then he greeted the host as follows:

"A great day has come upon us, both upon me and upon all of my relatives. We all have tasted thereof so that we might live thereby. We have all brought you a pipeful of tobacco, just as we were told. It is said that we would thus strengthen one another, and that is why we have done it. I greet you all."

Then he went to his seat, the second one in the lodge, and sat down. Then all the members of his band sat down, each sending forth a greeting as they took their seats. When they were all seated the third man invited prepared to enter.

The third one invited now entered, uttering strange sounds, and made the circuit of the lodge, when he paused and addressed the host as follows:

"Councilors, life-obtainers, relatives who are seated in your respective seats, I greet you all. Here I have been blessed, although I am not worthy of it. My grandfather, and my father, too, once said to

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me, 'Some day when there is a dearth of people, some night-blest one will take pity on you. Submit to it.' Thus he spoke to me and what he referred to was this feast. These feasts are all sacred, but this is the most sacred one. That is what he used to tell me. It is not to be trifled with, even in respect to the rituals within the lodge. Never should one cross the lodge directly. If you trifle with this rule you will bring sorrow upon yourselves. The so-called night-soldiers are not to be trifled with. So he told me. The so-called night-soldiers, like soldiers on this earth, are stern. Truly they are stern, said my father. If we were to slight one of them we would most assuredly be punished for it, and punishment by them means death. So he spoke to me. But, said he, 'if, on the other hand, any one attends to all that pertains to this ceremony it will be a means of obtaining life. It will be a good thing to do, and one would thereby obtain a good life. Therefore, I have always looked upon the Night dance with awe, for it is a very holy thing.' So spoke my father. For that reason, consequently, whenever my father gave a Night feast he would encourage us to pay careful attention to it, and that is why I have always tried to do so. Remember, however, that I am not a child of the night-blest ones, and that, therefore, I have very little to say. However, I will start a song, which will be a greeting to this lodge, and I will sing it as I am passing around the lodge. Children of the night-blest ones, who are seated here, I greet you. [682]

Then he sang an entrance song, first at the west end of the lodge and then near the position occupied by the host. When he had finished the circuit of the lodge he went around again, making the accustomed peculiar utterances, until he came in front of the host. There he stopped and addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You have caused this day to come upon me and all my relatives. We have all tasted thereof and we have all felt ourselves in connection with life. We are thankful. We have thought of this blessing of life in connection with ourselves. I greet you."

Then he walks to the place assigned to him in the west end of the tent and sits down. The other members of his band do the same, one after the other, greeting the people in the lodge at the same time.

When they are all seated the fourth one comes in. He repeats the utterances of the former guests and then starts around the lodge until he reaches the entrance. There he stops and addresses the host:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, I greet your seats. I likewise greet you, host. You who are seated in the north and you who are seated in the west, your seats I greet. Children of the night-blest spirits who are within this lodge, all of you I greet. It is good. As far as I understand this Night ceremony is considered a life-giving one. The so-called happy Night Spirits alone are in control of most of life. So I was told, and that is why this ceremony is called a life-giving

796 one. If I participated in this ceremony, I would be able to call it life,
 776 I was told. But I did not pay any attention to it. They told me it
 539 was good and that I would at the same time be making offerings to
 575 Those-with-the-rounded-wood, and that thus I would be able to make
 use of all the plants that these spirits control, so that I would never
 be embarrassed when I wished to use them. I have caused people
 [824] who were ill to become well by means of this ceremony. All of the
 plants that these spirits control are good ones, and it is easy to obtain
 life with them. In this ceremony we may also obtain life by dancing.
 But we must dance earnestly. The leaders of this ceremony have
 held council over everything, and yet they have selected us for a seat
 of honor, so that we might greet them in this lodge and that we might
 be able to use this song while greeting them. You children of the
 night-blessed ones, I greet you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and when he finished he repeated
 the utterances used in entering and gradually made the circuit of the
 lodge singing. When he was through singing, he again continued the
 utterances until he came to the place of the host, where he made the
 circle (with his hands) and stopped. Then he addressed the host as
 follows:

"I greet you. You wish me to live, and therefore caused a great
 day to come upon me and upon all my relatives. We have all received
 a taste of it, and we have all thought of ourselves in connection with
 life. We are also bringing you a pipeful of tobacco, so that we may
 strengthen one another. That is what we thought and that is why
 we are doing it. I greet you."

Then he walked around the lodge until he came to his seat. There
 he stopped and addressed his seat as follows:

"Seat that is reserved for me and for my relatives, we are about to
 sit in you; we will do it, and we will think that our lives have been
 helped thereby. I greet you." Thus he spoke and sat down. Then
 all the other members of his band sat down one by one.

When they were all seated the lodge was full. Then the host rose
 and spoke as follows:

539 "You who are seated in the first position, I greet you; you who are
 796 seated in the north position, I greet you; you who are seated in the
 776 west position, I greet you; and you who are seated at the end of the
 787 road, I greet you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are here, I
 575 greet you. My father and my grandfather spoke to me of this cer-
 mony, and they told me it was good. They told me that the one
 who first obtained it was named 'Little Red Turtle.' He fasted and
 was blessed by those whom he called the Beings-with-round-wood.
 By these was he blessed at the noon hour, and he was taught what
 to do. There they taught him all. At a place where the stars
 [824] touched land they caused it to become night, and there they blessed

him and taught him how to make four circles and also certain songs. Since then this ceremony has been performed. He was really blessed, and he was told exactly how everything should be performed. So it is said. As he was very fond of the Night feast, he spoke in its behalf, and told of all the medicines that were associated with it and of the use to which they could be put. I myself know that these medicines are good to live on. If anyone uses them he will receive benefits therefrom and his children will receive life. I know that they are good. I would not have you think that I am one of those blessed by the Night Spirits because I say this. But I know that all the medicines of which I have personal charge and to which I make offerings of tobacco, for whom I boiled food, always make the individual to whom I offer them the better for it, provided that I do everything correctly. I was told to do this, and that is why I do it. I am now going to sing some songs audibly, and all these songs will be songs about medicines. I know that we will cause you to fan your faces (from perspiration brought on by making you work too hard), but forgive us for it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you, and to take the place of their sister whom they always place ahead of them so we also will have our sisters lead the dance for us."

Two women now rise and stand side by side in front of the men and hold, one in each hand, the invitation sticks that had been returned. These two women lead in the dance. The men who shake the gourds stand with their backs to the women, facing the drummers. All sing together and all the dancers have partners at their sides. It is a very interesting dance. Then all got up and start around the lodge, making strange utterances. When they have made the complete circuit of the lodge they stop and sing. When they finish this song they start around the lodge again, repeating the utterances. They stop at the west end of the tent, where they sing again. They thus sing at both ends of the lodge. They use all the songs they intend to. When the last song is over the individual who has sung it makes four circles and then takes the drum, gourd, tobacco, etc., and places them in front of the guest who occupies the first seat of honor. Then all sit down. Then the east leader rises and speaks as follows: "

"Councilors and life-obtainers, relatives who are seated here, I send you all greetings; and to you who are on the north side, and you who are on the west side, and you who are at the end of the road, your seats I greet. Our host has passed over to me the means of our meditation, the instruments through which we ask life. This instrument for asking life is the foremost thing we possess, so the old people said. We are thankful for it. We know that Earthmaker

* From now on we will use the terms East Leader, North Leader, West Leader, and South Leader to designate, respectively, the first, second, third, and fourth guests in the order of their invitation.

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did not put us in charge of anything, and that for that reason the tobacco we received is our greatest and foremost thing. So the old people said. We were told that we should use it to ask for life. This must have been what they meant. This, the instrument with which to ask life, is, I feel sure, sufficient to attract them and they will surely take notice of it. We may also follow him who is taking the place of the spirits, and we will consider all those who are in the lodge blest. Those whom we call Nights have been offered tobacco, and the same has been offered to the four cardinal points, and to all the life-giving plants. To this many tobacco has been offered. It will strengthen us. This is what we call imitating the spirits, and that is why we are doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you all. The song we will now start is a pipe-lighting song."

When he finished singing he greeted all those in the lodge and then he lit his pipe. Then he took a number of puffs. First he inhaled some smoke and blew it toward the east, then toward the north, then toward the west, then toward the south. Then he passed it around and all smoked, except the host, who is not permitted to do so. Then the east leader spoke again as follows:

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"Night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you. The instrument with which to ask life I will now place here, and if any of you want to fill your pipes you may do so."

Then the leader of the north band rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, you who sit in the direction where the day comes from, you who sit on the other side, in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, your seats I all greet. We, too, have been anxious to obtain the instrument whereby we ask life, and therefore we fill a pipe for ourselves. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said as follows:

"If the leader of the north band has finished his greeting, I also would very much like to have the instrument with which we ask life brought to me. We will immediately go and fill a pipe. I am speaking now because I wish to tell you what I intend to do. I greet you."

The leader of the north band did not pass the pipe that he had filled all around the lodge, but merely passed it to the members of his band. Only they smoked from it. In the same way the leaders of the other bands, with the exception of the host's band, passed the pipe only to members of their individual band. Only the host passed his pipe all around the lodge. When the smoking was over the leader of the east band rose and greeted everyone. Then he spoke as follows:

[787]

779 "Our grandfathers used to carry on this ceremony, I have been told. They told me that if at any time the giver of this ceremony

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can not find enough people to invite he would take pity on me. This is what I should say, my father told me. In the direction from which the day comes, there where the Nights are, live the night-soldiers, who blessed my grandfather and who made him try his powers in the middle of the ocean--there where it is deepest. They placed a round object of wood before him, and the night-soldiers said that they would not take it away, and that every time my grandfather tried to seize it he would not miss. 'You have done well, human, you have won,' they said to him. For this reason it was considered an instrument of war, he told me. If you do your utmost in offering tobacco, it will be an instrument of war, he said.

And he also said the following: "All the plants with which I have been blessed are useful and a person can receive life through them if he takes good care of them. These plants can be very powerful and some of them can even be used in playing jokes, we are told. But we have never used any of them in such a manner, for if we did our plants would surely lose their strength. I have been told that should I frequently use any of my plants for the purpose of playing jokes and then for the purpose of curing a sick person, they would have no power at all. If, however, I never used them in jokes my medicine would always be powerful. Therefore I have never used them in that manner. Nor have I ever poisoned anyone with them. I never considered myself great or used a Night's trick-medicine or used fire, although I was told I could do so. This I never did. When I use one of the plants I like to have it do its work. I am saying this, although I am not a child of the night-blessed ones. It is now about time to permit our sisters to get hold of the 'chief sticks' and to permit them to sit here and sing together with us."

The women are then permitted to take two sticks apiece and sing wherever they are sitting. As soon as the men sing the women join in.

"This is the way to do, I was told, and that is why I am doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated here in this lodge, I send you all greeting."

When he is through with his starting song he stands up and speaks to them again, as follows:

"Night-blessed ones who are within this lodge, I greet you. I was not invited to take this seat because I was a wise man. I do not for a moment imagine that, but it was done in order to help me obtain life. We will now rise and go forth and we will brush against your faces, but you must take pity on us. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. We will not remain seated here but we will rise and go forth in order to obtain the round stick. That is why I am making this announcement to you. I greet you."

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the human beings. However, we were not even equal in strength to a fly. We were the weakest of all. Then he looked at what he had created and he liked it and sat filled with happy thoughts. TT3

He was proud of us and gazed again on what he had created. He had, however, not made the human beings equal in strength to the others and they were on the point of being destroyed. Then he formed a human being, like ourselves, and when he had finished him, he named him the Foolish-One. "Foolish-One, to the earth you are to go. Weakly (pitiable), in every respect, I made the human beings. I made them as my last thought. Now this creation of mine, they, the evil spirits, are likely to injure, so do you, O Foolish-One, go and put things in order." TT3
TT6 ●

Then he sent him to the earth, but when he came on earth he did not do what he had been told. He went around the earth and accomplished nothing. (As useless) as a child crawling on all fours he was. He really amounted to nothing. Though sent by Earthmaker, he amounted to nothing. He did no good and injured the creation of Earthmaker, so Earthmaker took him back and had him sit at the right of his own seat.

Then he made another (man) and when he was finished called him the Turtle. "The two-legged walkers (human beings) whom I created as the last of my thoughts, (evil spirits) are about to exterminate. Do you go and put the earth in order." Turtle went and (took along) a knife that he had been given. When he came on earth he led people on the warpath, but he did not look after the (welfare) of (Earthmaker's) creation. Earthmaker therefore took back the second man, too, and placed him on his left side.

Then he made a third (man), and when he finished him, he named him Bladder, and said, "You are to go to the earth. As my last thought, I created the two-legged walkers and they were pitiful in every way. They are now about to be exterminated and you are to rescue them. Try with all your strength."

When he came on earth he made a long lodge and created twenty men. That many younger brothers he had. Then they all started to go around this entire island and all the younger brothers were killed. Thus he failed in his mission. The work his father had sent him to do, he failed in, so (Earthmaker) took him back and placed him on his left side.

Then he made a fourth (man) and when he finished he named him He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings.

Then he made the last one, Hare, his body just like ours. "You are the last one I am going to create, so try with all your strength, Hare, try." He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings, the fourth one, failed. He therefore took him back. Hare was the last that Earthmaker, our father, wished to create. He (had created) him entirely by the force of his thoughts.

773 "Hare, what I am doing, you also will be able to accomplish.
 776 Try with all your power. If (the evil spirits) injure my creation, it will not be good on earth, life will not be good." Thus he encouraged him; thus he spoke to him. "Try and overcome these (evil spirits)."

So Hare was sent to the earth, and when he came on earth he said to himself, "My brothers acted in a (certain) way and failed." Hare had come up to a certain oval lodge and from this (same) house came a young woman with a little pail. She was going toward the river. "Now they (Foolish-One, etc.), were not able to do (what I am going to do)," he said. There he entered the body of the young woman in order to become a human being. There he sat in the abdomen (of the young woman), yet he heard their (human being's) cry.

He heard them crying. "My father sent me to give them advice, and here, for so very long a time, I have been sitting." Crying, shrieking, he heard them (the human beings). "So long have I been sitting here that (the evil spirits) will in the end destroy them." Seven months had he been waiting when he spoke thus. Finally, when the proper time had elapsed, he went out through an opening. Not four days after, the woman died.

He always left the house in which they lived, at night, and would roam around. Whenever he walked inside the house he would reflect much light. As soon as daylight appeared he became quiet, it is said. As soon as the sun went down, he went out. He traveled all around the earth, for its entire extent, and just before sunrise returned and became quiet. Throughout the day he sat thinking of all the work he was to do.

For the third time he again started out, at sunset, and traveled over half the extent of the earth, and all the bad spirits that were growing wild he put an end to. "Not again will they (the bad spirits) live; not for a second time will they kill any of my uncles or aunts." Just before daylight appeared, he went toward the house, and as he approached it, his heart felt good. Then he entered the house and all day he sat there wrapped in thought.

When the sun went down he went out and over to the very edge of the earth, as large as it is, he roamed, and all the bad spirits that exist he killed. Just about daylight he went up into the heavens and bang! he pursued all the bad birds that were living there and driving them together in the west, he killed them all. Very early in the morning he went to the house thinking pleasant thoughts. "The work my father sent me to do I have accomplished. The life of my uncles and aunts will now be like mine, from now on." Thus he thought as he entered the house.

"Well, Grandmother, the work my father sent me to do, I have accomplished. He sent me to look after his creation and all that I have accomplished. My uncles' and aunts' lives will hereafter be the

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same as my own." "But, Grandson, how can your uncles' lives be the same as yours? It is not so. The (world) is as our father created it. Not different can it be made." "The old woman must be related to them and therefore does not like it that I killed (the evil spirits)." "No, Grandson, our father has ordained that my body (the earth) should fall in two. Lest they should cause a shortage in food (by overpopulation) he ordained that there should be death, otherwise they would crowd each other too much on earth. So, therefore, he arranged that they have a place to die."

Hare didn't like it. "Surely, Grandmother does not like it because she was related to them. She is taking their (evil spirits) part." Thus he thought. "No, Grandson, that is not so. Your heart, at present, feels sore. Your uncles and aunts will obtain enough of life; they will live to a normal old age," she told him. "Now, Grandson, get up. Your uncles and aunts will follow you. Try with all your strength (to do what I am going to tell you). You are a man, so do not look back."

Around (the earth) they started. "Not to look back," grandmother said. "I wonder why she said it." Thus he thought. So he looked back just the least bit to his left. The place he had started from caved in instantaneously. "O my! O my! A man I thought you were, a person of prominence, and I had encouraged you very much. But now, Grandson, decay, death can, in no way, be taken back." That is what she meant, it is said.

Around (the earth) they went and to the edge of the fire (that encircles the earth) they traveled, it is said. They united it (the fire) so that they (the uncles and aunts) would attain old age, so she said.

"To look back, she forbade me. But I have already made up my mind (as to the immortality of my uncles and aunts). When they become like me, then only will I be happy. Such is my thought." Then he went out and there, where the sun rises, to the east, he went and entered the house. Opposite the occupants he sat himself. What he had come for (the occupants) knew, it is said. "Well, Hare, there is nothing I can say to you. If the one ahead has anything he wishes to say to you, he will undoubtedly do so." Then he (Hare) greeted him and went out.

Toward the west he traveled. Even then not any (other) thought he had. "I can do it," he thought on the way. When he arrived at the house he entered and sat himself opposite the (occupant). "Hare, what you have come for, I know, I believe, but I will not tell you anything. The one ahead, he it is that can tell you, he it is." So he (Hare) saluted him and went out.

Toward the house of the fourth one, in the south, he went and entered, and sat himself opposite (the occupant). "Hare, what you

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773 have come for, I know, but if even those ahead could not say any-
 776 thing to you, how can I, the very last, say anything?"

Then he saluted him and went out in the same way that he went in. He started for his house and came there crying, it is said. "My aunts and uncles must not die!" "To all things death will come," he thought. Then he cast his thoughts upon the precipices and they began to fall, to crumble. Upon the rocks he cast his thoughts and they crumbled. Under the earth he cast his thoughts and all beings that were living under the earth stopped moving and their limbs stiffened (in death).

Up above also he cast his thoughts and the birds began to fall down (dead).

Then when he entered the house he took his blanket and wrapping himself in it, lay down crying, it is said. "Not the entire earth will suffice for us," he thought, "and in some places there will not even be enough earth."

After a while the news reached our father. "To utterly destroy us they will try" (the people were saying). That Hare was not feeling well, was the news that reached him. Then he (Earthmaker) said to the first man he had created, "Hare is not feeling well and you are to go after him." Toward the earth he came. "Hare, I have come here to fetch you." But he did not answer him and he did not even move his blanket. So the man (Foolish-one) returned. Then he (Earthmaker) said to the second one, "Hare you are to go after and bring him back here. Try very hard to (accomplish) it, for he is not feeling well." When he arrived there (he said), "Hare, I have come after you to take you back." But Hare did not even (answer). When he returned, he said, "Hare did not say anything." (Then to the third one he said), "Hare you are to go after, for he is not feeling well." When he came (to where Hare was, he said), "Hare, I have come after you, to take you home." But Hare did not even answer him. Hare was indeed not feeling well.

Then he (Earthmaker) told the fourth one, "You are to go after Hare. Be sure and bring him. Be sure and bring him. Try with all your strength." "No matter how hard it is, I will bring him" (said the fourth one). He started out and when he came to Hare (he said), "Indeed, for a very long time has your heart been sad, Hare. But let us go home now. Get up!" Then he took him back, it is said, to Earthmaker he took him. But not to Earthmaker's house did he take him, but to that opposite where the chief of the Thunderbirds lived. At his side, there they placed him. In front of the Thunderbird chief's (house) there was a mound and also a little war club painted red on one side. Thunderbird chief took the little war club and holding it lightly, shook it gently. So great

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was the noise (it made) that Hare got frightened and almost ran out, it is said. Then they freed him from the sad thoughts he had had on earth and restored his spirits. T73
T76 ●

Soon after that they took him to Earthmaker and (when) he had come there (Earthmaker said), "Hare, your heart must have been very sad. Indeed, for your uncles it was, that your heart felt sad. Now that their lives may be benefited, a holy teaching you are to take back to them. "Here, look at it," he said, and pointed toward the south. There a long lodge stood (revealed). At this he looked and there were old people with hair all white. "Thus your uncles and aunts will be. They will make very much noise (in this ceremony). Now look down! Some help is to be given them. Not one bad spirit will I put there." Then he (Earthmaker) pointed in that direction and said, "You are to go back there (to earth) and put this (ceremony) before them. Not alone are you to do it, but with the aid of your own friends, Foolish-One, Turtle, Bladder, and He-who-wears-heads-as-earrings." Those he meant. "Your grandmother (the earth) will help you and if one of your uncles and aunts performs everything properly he will have more than one life. I will always keep the door (through which he may return to earth) open to him. When he becomes reincarnated he can live wherever he wishes. He can return (to the earth) as a human being or he can join the different bands of spirits, or finally he can become (a being) below the earth." All this he (Earthmaker) did for us.

Then Hare returned to the earth and to his grandmother. "What I have tried to obtain for my uncles and aunts, that now I have brought back with me." "Grandson, how was it possible for you to make them immortal like ourselves? As the world was created, so must it remain." "Grandmother, I say that my uncles will choose their lives for themselves, and grandmother, you are to help me." "All right, grandson, it is good," she said, thanking him. "When the time comes, my friend the Foolish-One will come," he thought. Then he struck his drum and started the songs. All of a sudden, Foolish-One came in. "That you would come, my friend, I thought, and thus you have come." "Indeed, my friend, I knew your thoughts and, for that reason, I came." Then they went out together and outside of the village they sat and discussed what they were to do. This is what they were doing. All day they discussed on the outskirts of the village. When they came to the house they entered it and sat down. "My friend Turtle will come," he (Hare) thought. Then Turtle did come. "My friend, I knew you would come, and for that reason, you have come." "Yes, indeed, your thought I know, and for that reason I have come." Soon Bladder came. He (Hare) thought he would come and for that reason he came. Then Hare centered his thoughts on He-who-wears-heads-as-earrings, and he also came.

TT3 Their grandmother listened to them quietly, but she could not
 TT6 understand them. Then (after a while) Hare said, "Grandmother, what I have been trying to obtain for my uncles I have succeeded (in accomplishing). You are now going to hear of it. Come here toward the fireplace and sit down and you will hear of it. (I know) that you are anxious to help them, Grandmother." "Indeed, grandson, it is good," she said, and got up. Then she took her work and sat down near the fire of them and laid her hands upon their heads. In front of her nephew, Hare, she placed her work. "If you get this for them (i. e., the medicine dance) your uncles will live well. This way they are to do forever," she said. In front of him she put her work and said, "For this thing, indeed, I thank our father." Thus she said and went back and sat down. "Grandson, what the nature of my help for you was to be, you asked? Well, look at me, grandson. For your uncles and your aunts, our father had me bring the following. I have for them that with which they will always be able to ask for life." Then she opened that part of her body where her heart was situated and very green leaves were to be seen, like an ear in shape. It was as white as a blossom. Then she opened her breast on the right side and said, "Grandson, look at me." Then unexpectedly corn was visible. "For your uncles and aunts, our father let me bring corn." A stalk became visible whose leaves were very green and whose tassels were white. These were the ears of corn that we were to eat.

Then the five of them got up and Hare said, "Our grandmother, let us greet." So they walked up and laid their hands upon her head. Then they greeted her and went around again. "It is good, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said you were to help them. You were going to help us, grandmother," I said. "You may now fix your breast."

Then he went out, proceeding toward the east, and when he got there he stopped. Then he turned toward the west. Grandmother closed her breast and entered the house. "Well, grandson, I have done it." "It is good, grandmother," said Hare. Then he went out, and when he got to the door he stopped there and thought, "This is the way it will be." And where he stood, eight yellow female snakes he threw. They became the side-poles of the lodge. Their heads he turned toward the east, and their tails he turned toward the west. The strings he used with which to tie them were rattlesnakes. The doorway was made of a black female and a male snake, the latter placed at the right. At the rear end of the house, in the west, he also made doors of blue female snakes. Then he took a reed-grass, which he had brought with him, under whose covering we were to live, and threw it over the lodge and the lodge was wrapped in it entirely. Then he took another piece of reed-

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grass and inside the house, at the right side, he threw it and it became white mats spread out. Then he threw a bear-skin hide in the house on the right side, and it extended along the length of the lodge. Then he made a white deer-hide extend along the entire length of the lodge, on the right side. A door he made of a real living mountain lion. This he did in order to prevent bad spirits from entering. At the door, on the west side, he placed a buffalo bull, and when this all was completed, he looked inside the lodge and then he heard these animals bellowing and roaring, it is said. Inside of the lodge, it was light. T73
T76

Then he started for the lodge, first going for his friends. "Well, my friends, I am through; the house I have finished. Grandmother, stand up, for we are going to follow." He walked behind and when they came to the door, the fear-inspiring lion snapped his teeth, as he stood there. Then they went in and walked around the lodge until they came to the place where they had entered and they sat down. Then Hare sent a number of public criers, a bear and a wolf, to traverse the entire length of the earth. Along with them were sent the winged messengers, the common crow and the shrieking crow.

When the animals that had started first returned, their bodies were old and devoid of hair, and they supported themselves on staffs. When the birds who had gone returned, their wings were worn out, their eyebrows lapped over their eyes, and they looked very old indeed. They came in front of Hare's seat and said to him, "Your uncles and aunts, when they speak of you, will speak of you forever in praise. We have placed many life-giving objects within the lodge." "Well, my friends, it is good. This is what I meant. I thank you in the name of my uncles and aunts."

Then all the messengers who had been above on the earth, etc., all of them came. The four very first men he had created also came. They all stood at the door ready to enter. The oldest one started in, but he turned back, being afraid of the animals within. Three of them were afraid and therefore failed to enter. Then the youngest opened the door for them and led them in. After he entered, they, in turn, walked around the lodge, and when they got to the door, Hare placed the eldest one there and said, "My elder brother, this is your seat, the east one." Then he walked around again and at the north end he stopped and made the second one sit down. Then he walked around and, stopping in the west, made the third one sit there. Then, finally, he put the fourth one in the south seat, and went to his own seat and sat down.

Now all the other spirits began to enter the lodge. Then the first people came in and four were made to sit in the east and four were made to sit with each of the four seats. The people were of the

The people were of the

773 Bird clan, the Bear clan, the Wolf clan, and the Snake clan. The
 776 fourth one was the one they were to teach, to initiate.

[614] Then Hare got up and spoke as follows: "My friends, I have had you come together, for my uncles and aunts had been living a most pitiable life. You are to teach them the life they are to live and which they are to hand down from generation to generation. That is what I ask of you. What I want, you have heard. I leave everything to be done and said by those in the east."

Then he, the one in the east, arose and spoke, "Our friends, the uncles and aunts of the Hare, we are to teach the meaning of life, so that they may hand it down from one generation to the other. Only today, for the first time, have we discussed this thing for them. Life (all that life consists of—wealth, honor, and happiness) they shall have from now on." The four of them said, "What the one ahead said (we say)." When they finished, they returned.

Now Hare got up again and said, "My friends, that is what I wished for my uncles and aunts. This council-lodge I made for them, and as long as they follow the precepts taught in the creation-lodge they will be invulnerable. For that reason this seat has been made for them, that whosoever desires may sit therein."

All day long the spirits taught him, and when the sun was on the treetops, when it was time to stop, the spirits dispersed, taking with them as they went half the light within the lodge. They rubbed against the door-poles as they went out. They pushed them in deeply so they would not fall.

Then Hare spoke, "Grandmother, I will be sitting ready for any one of my uncles and aunts who will perform this ceremony that we have taught them well. With tears my uncles and aunts will come to me and my heart will feel sore. I will go above and sit down and if any person performs this ceremony that we taught him well, then he will be as I am, if you will but look at me, grandmother. Look at my body, grandmother." And behold, like a very small boy he was. "If any one repeats what we have done here, this is the way he will appear."

"Look at me," Hare said for the second time; "Look at me!" Then he stood a full-grown man. Then, for the third time, he said, "Grandmother, look at me." There he stood a man in middle age; his hair was interspersed half-and-half with gray. Then she looked at him for the fourth time, and his hair was covered as if by a swan (i. e., it was all white), and he leaned tremblingly on his staff, standing in the east. "Well, grandmother, if any of my uncles and aunts performs this ceremony properly this way they will live."

"It is good, grandson. However, not only your uncles but your aunts, likewise, will be that way if any of the latter performs the ceremony properly. "Look at me," she said, and when he looked at

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her, there stood a very young woman, her hair like a shawl. "It is good, grandmother, and I thank you in the name of my aunts. Then for the second time she said, "Look at me." He looked at her and there stood a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. "Well, grandmother, it is good, that is what I meant." Then for the fourth time she said, "Grandson, look at me." He looked at her. Her hair was entirely dried up, in the nape of her neck there was a hollow, and like a duck looking at the sun, she appeared. Her chin, like a wooden poker, burnt short, there she stood trembling. "Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts that is what I wished for them, and I thank you."

ORGANIZATION OF THE BANDS

The medicine dance of the Winnebago consists of five bands. A sixth band is temporarily formed whenever the ceremony is given in honor of a deceased member. 796
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For purposes of description it will be best to divide each band into three parts—the leader, his two assistants, and the rest of the band. Leadership depends upon a thorough knowledge of the ceremony and its complete esoteric significance, which is in the possession of only a few individuals in each band. This knowledge can be obtained solely by purchase and religious qualifications. These religious qualifications, to which might be added moral as well, play little part at the present day, but there can be no doubt that they were essential in the past. The leader likewise often possessed other characteristics, such as those of warrior and shaman.

The two assistants were generally men who had purchased sufficient information and privileges to entitle them to help the leader in certain details of the ceremony. The drummers, rattle holders, dancers, etc., were always recruited from their ranks. Eventually they might become the leaders. Those who were neither leaders nor assistants possessed a knowledge varying from that of elementary information, required for admission, to that entitling them to the position of assistant.

There is a priority of position in the lodge, depending on priority of invitation. The band invited first occupies the east position; that invited second, the north; that invited third, the west; and that invited fourth, the south. The east is the position of highest honor; the south, that of the lowest. Between the bands there exists an order of invitation based on tradition, the exact nature of which is unknown. According to one informant, if one band invited another, the latter in turn would be obliged to give it the position of honor; but as there are five bands, this can apply only to special cases. Whatever may be the order, it is certain that each band has ample occasion to occupy all five positions. [554]

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578 feasted itself upon the first introduction of the peyote. As we have soon, there was in the beginning little difference between the beliefs relating to the peyote and those connected with the old Winnebago medicinal plants. Nevertheless the author was assured that hostility was exhibited to the new cult from the very start. Would the same hostility have been exhibited had this new feature represented some development from within the tribe? In other words, what it would be interesting to know, is whether the fact that the peyote was derived from without led to a hostility different in kind from that exhibited toward an innovation developing within the culture itself. No evidence could be obtained that would justify us in explaining the hostility felt by the older conservative Winnebago as due in any part to the fact that it was alien in origin. Certain elements that to-day form an integral part of the most popular of all Winnebago ceremonies were borrowed from the Sauk and Iowa, and the Winnebago realize this and mention it in the introductory myths told in connection with the preparatory rites of the medicine dance. The explanation obtained was always the same—that the hostility was due to the fact that the teachings of the Peyote people departed from those of their ancestors and that the Peyote were simply aping the habits and customs of the whites. What seems to have met with the greatest opposition from the older shamans was the denial of the doctrine of reincarnation. The Christian doctrine of the immortality of the soul does not seem to have been felt as a substitute at all. One old conservative assured the author that he had long ago prophesied the appearance of the peyote among the Winnebago. He told the author the following:

- [774] "This medicine is one of the four spirits from below, and for that reason it is a bad thing. These spirits have always longed for human beings and now they are getting hold of them. Those who use this medicine claim that when they die they will only be going on a long journey. But that is not the truth, for when they eat peyote they [775] destroy their spirits, and death to them will mean extermination. If I spit upon the floor, the spatum will soon dry up and nothing will remain of it. So death will be for them. I might go out and preach against this doctrine, but it would be of no avail, for I certainly would not be able to draw more than one or two people away from this spirit. Many will be taken in by this medicine; they will not be able to help themselves in any way. The bad spirit will certainly seize them."

x 796 themselves; and, lastly, the order in which the guests are invited (pls. 56, 57, 58).

x 796 It follows from the above remarks that in order to get a really
121 complete account of the entire ceremony information should be obtained from each clan. The account given by any one clan will only contain the origin myth and the songs belonging to the war bundle of that clan, for although it is part of the ceremony to relate the origin myths of the various war bundles and sing the specific songs connected with them, no individual would take it upon himself to tell any but those relating to the war bundle of his own clan. Thus it will be seen that any single account is defective in some rather important particulars.

ANALYTICAL PRESENTATION OF THE CEREMONY

x 796 The ceremony falls into three well-defined parts: I, the Sweat Lodge; II, the First Division, generally known either as the Feast in honor of Earthmaker or the Feast in honor of the Thunderbirds; and III, the Second Division, known as the Feast in honor of the Night Spirits.

[782] There is little to be said about the Sweat Lodge, for it consists exclusively of offerings of tobacco and prayers to the spirits, on the part of the one giving the ceremony, whom we will call the host.

The first division can be divided into the following component elements: (1) The preparation of the buckskins; (2) the dog sacrifice; (3) the filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual; (4) the tobacco offering to the spirits; (5) the buckskin offerings to the spirits; (6) the feast; (7) the fast-eating contest; and (8) the basic ritual.

The second division can be divided into the following component elements: (4) The tobacco offering to the spirits; (9) the throwing out of the buckskins; (8) the feast; (10) the episode of the "Night-crazed" warrior; (11) the terminal dog ritual; and (8) the basic ritual.

[887] (1) *The preparation of the buckskins.*—The buckskins, made as white as possible by old women, are taken into the lodge by the host and there marked in the manner prescribed for each spirit. They are then tied to a framework and rolled to the top of this frame.

[782 825] (2) *The dog sacrifice.*—The dog is strangled and a pouch of tobacco is tied to each limb, and another pouch and red feathers are tied around his neck. The body is then laid in front of the war bundle, facing south, this being the direction in which Disease-giver, the spirit to whom the dog is specially sacrificed, lives.

• [776] Before strangling, a short speech is addressed to the dog in which the slayer apologizes for killing him, and assures him that in the

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place to which he is going he will live far more happily than here ^{776x}
among men.

(3) *Filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual.*—Before the ^{776x}
basic ritual of the first division is begun the attendants take some ⁷⁸²
tobacco and, filling the ceremonial pipe, place it near the war bundle.
As the first pipeful is intended for Earthmaker, the stem is directed ^{[276}
vertically. Then as soon as the appropriate songs have been sung ^{782]}
the attendant lights the pipe and passes it around the lodge, so that
all the men may smoke. When the pipe returns to the host it is
again filled.

This procedure is repeated three more times, but as in each case
the offering is to a different spirit, the arrangement of the pipestem is
different. At the second filling of the pipe the stem is turned to the ^[782]
west for the Thunderbirds; at the third, it is turned to the south for ^[776]
Disease-giver; and at the fourth, it is turned toward the earth for
the earth and the spirits that live under the earth.

(4) *Tobacco offerings to the spirits.*—This occurs in two forms,
(a) and (b).

(a) When the buckskins have been prepared and rolled up on the
frameworks, then all those participating march around the lodge to
the place where the war bundle is lying and pour tobacco upon it.
Then they offer tobacco to all the spirits worshiped. The spirits men-
tioned specifically are, however, few in number, the offerings being
really directed to the six cardinal points, east, north, west, south, ^[823]
above, and below.

(b) This is a more specific offering and all the spirits are mentioned
by name and short addresses are made to them. It is repeated three
times—once in the Sweat-Lodge ritual, then in the first, and lastly
in the second division.

In the Sweat-Lodge ritual the offering of tobacco is made to the ^{776x}
following spirits: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Great Black Hawk, ⁷⁷⁶
Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Moon, South Wind, and Eagle. ⁷⁸²

In the first division the order is different and more spirits are sacri-
ficed to. The spirits to whom tobacco is offered are the following:
Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun,
Earth, Moon, Eagle Chief, Day, South Wind, North Wind, Black
Hawk, Wonnvi're Oankcik, and Great Black Hawk.

In the second division the following spirits receive tobacco offer-
ings: Night Spirits, Earth, Water, Pigeon Hawk, Moon, Earthmaker,
Thunderbird, Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, and
Sun.

Each spirit is addressed by name and then a handful of tobacco is
poured into the fire.

(5) *The buckskin offering to the spirits.*—Short prayers are addressed
to those spirits who are to receive buckskins and requests for power

796 are made to them. Only the following spirits receive buckskins:
[782] Thunderbird, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, South Wind, Sun, Earth-
[774] maker, Moon, Morning Star, Earth, and Water.

(6) *The feasts.* There are two feasts, the one in the first division of the ceremony being generally known as the Thunderbird and that in the second division as the Night Spirit feast.

[554] The guests are always divided into two divisions, the owners of war bundles and their male followers, and the women. The former, who are always warriors of repute, get the choice pieces of the deer, i. e., the heads, and the rest get the other pieces generally referred to as "the common pieces." The heads are eaten after those eating the common pieces have finished.

The host never eats at the feast he gives, but while the others are eating he plays on his reed flute.

[264] (7) *The fast-eating contest.* Before the heads are eaten two men belonging to the upper phratry and two belonging to the lower (i. e., generally two members of the Thunderbird clan and two members of the Bear clan) are selected to take part in the fast-eating contest. This consists of consuming an equal amount of food. The one who finishes first is considered the greater warrior. Both contestants start at a given signal and continue the contest to the accompaniment of songs sung by the other guests.

When a member of the upper phratry gives the ceremony his side always wins, and vice versa.

(8) *The basic ritual.*—After the buckskin ritual has been finished the host begins what is unquestionably the fundamental part of the ceremony, which I have called the "basic ritual." It consists of four speeches, each speech followed by a different set of songs. The first speech is followed by a set of war-bundle songs; the second by a paint set; the third by a Disease-giver set; and the last by a Night Spirit set. The last speech also contains a fasting experience of the first owner of the war bundle. When he is finished, the general feast and the fast-eating contest take place, and the basic ritual is for the time interrupted. It is continued as soon as these are finished, but not in the same manner as performed by the host. Instead of four speeches there is only one. As soon as one guest finishes speaking the other begins, and so on until all have finished.¹

In the second division of the ceremony the basic ritual is performed in a slightly different manner. In the first place there seem to be two parts to it, the first one quite different from the basic ritual as given in the first division, and the second identical with it except that instead of seven there are only four guests called upon to speak.

In the first part of the basic ritual, as given here, the host delivers three speeches. After the first one a set of Night Spirit songs are

¹ Additional information on the Winter Feasts might lead me to an alteration of this last statement. In addition to the present, three more accounts of Winter Feasts were received.

sung; after the second one a dance song is sung and all the guests ^{796^x} who so desire dance around the war bundle; after the third one the host passes the drum and other paraphernalia to the guest who is in charge of the buckskin destined for Earthmaker. This guest repeats the ritual in exactly the same manner as the host has done and then passes the drum, etc., to the second guest, and when the time comes he passes the drum, etc., to the third guest. Then the ritual of the throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, and after that the feast of the Night Spirits and the rite of those who have been crazed by the Night-Spirits. Then, when these are finished, the basic ritual is continued. The continuation is, however, quite different from the first part and is identical with the basic ritual as given in the first part of the ceremony.

(9) *The throwing out of the buckskins.*—A warrior of great reputation is selected to begin the rites preparatory to the throwing out of the buckskins. One who has been blessed by the Night Spirits is preferably selected. He delivers a speech, and when he is finished the guests sing songs called "terminal Night Spirit" songs. Then the host prepares to sing a dance song, but before that he delivers a speech. Then, as the oldest men present sing, the host and the guests impersonating the spirits to whom tobacco is sacrificed take the buckskins and make the circuit of the lodge four times. An attendant precedes and another follows the procession, scattering incense consisting of branches of the arbor vitae. Just before the fourth circuit is begun ^[554 776] all the children smoke their hands and then touch the buckskin dedicated to Earthmaker. After the fourth circuit has been completed, the buckskins are unrolled and thrown out through the top of the lodge, where the spirits are supposed to come and take them. After this, all holding tobacco in their hands walk to the fireplace and throw it in. Then, as a conclusion, all, even the women, rise in their respective seats and dance. ^[957]

(10) *The episode of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits.*— ^{796^x 786} This is plainly an intrusive feature and does not take place at every performance of the ceremony. An individual who has brought himself to a state of religious frenzy strips himself entirely and behaves generally like one bereft of his senses. He sticks his hands into the boiling soup and makes a wild rush for the pot where the heels are being cooked and tries to bite them. It is believed that whoever gets the first bite will, at some future time, obtain a war honor. Then he takes the pipe placed in the center of the lodge, smokes it, and relates some war exploits. He then tells the assembled guests that in his ^[757] trance he communicated with the spirits, and they told him that they had accepted all the offerings made.²

² There can be no doubt that we are dealing with an extremely specialized and interesting behavior, that in other tribes, and in that nation among the Winnebago themselves in other occasions, has an entirely different significance.

- x 776 (11) *Terminal dog ritual*.—This consists simply of a speech by the host to the assembled guests, telling them that the dog is to be sent to Disease-giver as an offering, and that he will pray to Disease-giver to preserve them from disease.

ANALYSIS OF TYPES OF ACTION AND SPEECHES

576 [Circuit of the lodge].—This is always made in a direction contrary to that of the hands of a clock. The reason given for this method is that it is supposed to represent the journey of the Night Spirits around the earth.

Method of greeting.—This is the same as that which exists in all Winnebago ceremonies and is accurately described in my article on the Winnebago Medicine dance.²

x 776 577 *Types of speeches*.—This subject is of great importance because, while it is true that a certain freedom is allowed in the method of delivery and the choice of words, on the other hand, their content and to a large extent their symbolism and imagery are stereotyped. The speeches might perhaps best be divided into the following groups:

(a) *General addresses*.—These are generally delivered by the host to his guests and always contain expressions of gratitude for the kindness shown by the guests in condescending to accept his invitation.

(b) *Speeches of thankfulness*.—These are generally delivered by the guests and always contain complimentary references to the zealotism of the host in attending to his religious duties, expressions of gratitude for the invitation extended to them, and protestations, couched in the strongest terms, of their unworthiness for the honor thrust upon them and their utter inability to do aught that might insure the acceptance by the spirits of the offerings extended to them.

(c) *Speeches of admonition*.—These are plainly exhortations by the host to his band and by the leaders of the guests' bands to their bands, beseeching them to do their utmost to insure the success of the ceremony.

(d) *Speeches to the spirits*.—These are prayers varying in length and content.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WAR-BUNBLE FEAST AND ITS PLACE IN THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WINNEBAGO

x 776 577 The ceremonial organization of the Winnebago can be divided into three types, according to the unit of organization that prevails. We find societies either based on common religious qualifications, such as being blessed by the same spirit, or those based on a fixed unit, as the five bands of the Medicine dance; organizations based on the clan, as the clan feasts; or, finally, temporary organizations based on war exploits, such as the Hók'ix'e're dance, in which the

² *Jour. Amer. Folklore*, vol. 26, pp. 140-200, 1911.

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four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them. 776^x
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The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. They were handed down from one generation to another in the same family, but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant - i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received - for starting it. 778
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In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war-bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath. 776^x
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It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines - first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors - first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second, the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and the Night Spirits. [776] ●

614 this twofold interpretation really represents the war bundle in a two-
778 fold aspect, first apart from its association with the war-bundle feast
and second from its association therewith.

That the clan is the unit of organization comes out clearly from
the following facts: First, there are as many buckskins offered as
there are clans; secondly, the order in which the guests are invited
[554] is determined by the reciprocal relations existing between the different
clans; and, thirdly, by references in the speeches. That the clan
unit, on the other hand, has influenced the ceremonial aspect of
the feast is apparent from the fact that offerings are made to the
clan animals. For example, in the following ceremony offerings are
made to the Eagle and Wona'yire Uakrik, who seem to be of slight
importance apart from their association with the clan.

x 796 The ceremonial unit in all Winnebago societies consists of four
[300] bands, four representing the sacred number, and the ritual consists
621 of the passing of the paraphernalia from one to the other unit until
571 it returns to the host. The war-bundle feast corresponds to the
other societies in every respect, except that instead of four there are
ten bands (with the band of the host, representing the eleven exist-
ing clans of the tribe). Had not the consciousness of the relation of
the war bundle to the clan been so strong the ceremonial unit would
probably have been found here, as it is found in all the other
ceremonies.

x 796 Summing up, then, we may say that the war-bundle feasts repre-
sent a mixed type corresponding exactly to no other Winnebago
ceremony, and that beginning as a war feast it developed in addi-
[575] tion some of the features of a secret society of the type exemplified
614 by the Night Spirit society, with a unit of organization based on the
clan; and that finally it became a general feast of thanksgiving to the
entire Winnebago pantheon.³

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SPIRITS MENTIONED IN THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

● 776 All the spirits to whom offerings are made in the war-bundle
feast are guardian spirits, with the exception of Earthmaker.
Some of them are conceived of as being human, while others have
animal forms, and still others have an indeterminate body. The
peculiar spirit, Disease-giver, has a form of his own, his body being
divided into two halves, one half dispensing death and the other
life. Earthmaker has no form, and in the few cases that he has been
known to bless individuals he always lets his presence be known
by some sign. There is generally a difference between the concep-
tion of the spirit as such and the form that he is supposed to assume

³ The order in which these aspects are enumerated is not to be taken as representing a direct line of
evolution.

when he appears to an individual. The Thunderbirds are conceived of theoretically as birds, but always appear to human beings in human shape. As it is believed by the shaman that the spirits are a *tertium quid*, neither animal nor man, but possessing infinite powers of transformation now into the one, now into the other, it is rather difficult to indicate their precise nature except in this negative way. For the ordinary individual doubtless their anthropomorphic nature stands out most prominently. [776]

According to shamanistic cosmology, although the greater spirits are given control of various powers, still, in general, each spirit is given control of some specific power. The shamanistic account goes on to say that, upon the creation of man, Earthmaker, realizing that he had no powers to bestow upon him, decided to give him at least the means of obtaining those powers he had given the spirits and presented him with tobacco, telling him that if he offered it in the proper manner the spirits would feel constrained to accept it and give him, in exchange, whatever powers they possessed. The popular account of the origin of tobacco was quite different. However, it was on the shamanistic theory that offerings were made. The arrangement between the spirits and man was in the nature of a contract, with this peculiarity, that the spirits did not have to accept the offerings. The prayers are generally couched in this manner: "If you, the spirits, accept my offerings, then grant me your blessings or a continuance of those my ancestors received." They were, however, theoretically always left the alternative of refusing. In practice it was not believed that the spirits exercised their prerogative of refusal, but that in certain cases the offerings were not made in the proper fashion. The moment the tobacco was accepted, the blessing followed of itself, almost without the will of the spirit. This purely mechanical relation between acceptance of the tobacco and bestowal of power comes out excellently in one of the myths. The Winnebago are sacrificing to the Buffalo Spirits and the smoke of their tobacco offering is ascending to the spirit-land where the Buffalo Spirits dwell. The chief of the spirits warns the younger ones not to approach too closely to the ascending fumes, for they are but spirits and the desire for tobacco might get the better of their discretion and induce them to accept it. If they do, they are lost, for they will then have to go down to the earth and be killed. No power they possess, nor any power the chief possesses, can save them. This "mechanical" explanation seems to me quite significant, for it probably embodies the older point of view and the point of view of the less enlightened Winnebago. As such, it is to be contrasted with the later shamanistic development with its contract and the shifting of the spirit's rôle from one of passive acceptance to that of a spirit-deity who withholds his approbation unless the offering is properly made. [777]

776 The elements necessary to the acceptance of offerings are two-
787 fold—the specified amount of material and the proper state of
782 mind. The first is quite clear, but the second needs some explanation. To the Winnebago the emotional condition of a suppliant for power from the spirits is all important, and the proper emotional condition is one which they call “concentration of mind,” by which they signify a complete absorption of the individual in the prayer he is making. Theoretically even the slightest interest in any other object is liable to destroy the entire efficacy of the prayer. I say theoretically, for if the prayer seems to be answered a consciousness of failure to come up to the ideal never obtrudes itself. If, however, there is reason to believe that the prayer has not been answered, then the explanation would always be that there had been either a shift of attention or a lack of emotional intensity. This is not the only explanation given for lack of success in the case of a ceremony, for there, by an extension of the principle of the “concentration of mind” to all those who participated, failure might be attributable to a large number of causes.

The popular explanation was, I believe, different. Failure was either not discussed at all and looked upon from the common-sense point of view as one of life's accidents or, if explanation was necessary, regarded as a sign that the spirits had not been tempted to accept the alluring offers.

It would, however, be erroneous to believe that much philosophizing took place over failure. Failure that entailed the death of an individual was likely to call forth not explanations as to what the failure was attributable, but desire for revenge.

776 With the exception of food and tobacco, which were extended to
782 all, the offerings to the various spirits differed in nature. To the eleven great deities (i. e., including *Ha'rok'a*, who is not mentioned in the following account) tobacco, food (i. e., both soup and meat), and *bukakina* were offered. There was, however, further differentiation. To the great war deities red eagle feathers were offered in addition; to Disease-giver and Thunderbird two dogs were sacrificed; to Earth and Sun herbs and maple sugar were given; and to the Moon, bear ribs.

Having thus briefly sketched the general nature of the spirits connected with the war-bundle feast and the general theory of the offering, we will turn to a specific enumeration of the spirits.

776 *Earthmaker*.—Various known in Winnebago as *Ma'uga*, Earth-
maker, *Wajagy'sara*, Creator, and *Waxopt'ni Xe'tera*, Great Spirit. *Ma'uga* is, by far, the most usual appellation; *Wajagy'sara* is found only in rituals, and *Waxopt'ni Xe'tera* is more or less obsolete, although not within the popular cycles relating to the Trickster, Hare, Turtle, Red-Horn, and the Twins.

Earthmaker has all the characteristics of a supreme deity. He is conceived of as formless and as never being visible to man. He is a benevolent deity, but apart from the interest he manifested in creating the world and all that exists upon it and in sending the great Transformer heroes, Trickster, Turtle, and Hare, he has taken little active interest in the affairs of humankind. It is only as a tour de force that one can receive blessings from him. An instance of the kind will be found on page 201,* which is to be taken not as a myth but as, at most, a true fasting experience, which has been cast into a literary form. [776]

The conception of Earthmaker we have been discussing is found most prominently developed in the rituals and the ritualistic myths. In how far it represents an exterior point of view it would be difficult to determine now. A study of the nonritualistic myths, however, makes it seem plausible that Earthmaker, among the people in general, was the vague Waxôp'j'ni Xo'tera, Great Spirit, typical of the woodland area; and what appears to strengthen this view is the fact that there exists, side by side with him, that other great spirit common among the woodland peoples, the Great Bad Spirit, known among the Winnebago as Herecô'njpa, of doubtful etymology. The coexistence of these two spirits and their equal rank comes out clearly in the cycle of the Twins. The ritualistic myths have attempted to interpret this old Herecô'njpa as Earthmaker's first attempt to create man, which ended in failure. He thereupon threw him away, but Herecô'njpa imitated the creations of the former and thus brought into existence the many evil spirits that infect the earth. [777]

Only in the older traditions is this conception of the dual deities still to be found. In practical life the more systematic conception developed in the rituals has entirely displaced it, just as the older conception of the Transformers as heroes working in obedience to no one and changing the world until it assumed its present appearance out of mere whim, has given place to a well-ordered creation in which the Transformers play the rôle of deities saving the human race at the command of Earthmaker.

Thunderbirds (Wak'a'ndja). They are always represented as appearing to men as bald-headed individuals wearing a wreath made of the branches of the arbutus. They are in control of almost all the powers that man can imagine, but they generally bless him with success on the warpath and with a long and honorable life. They are represented as having a spirit village in the west and as intermarrying with the Night Spirits who have a village in the east. Powerful shamans and warriors not infrequently claim that they are merely reincarnated Thunderbirds. Such is the claim of the man who is [775]

* Cf. also *Jour. Amer. Folklore*, vol. 26, pp. 200-214, 1912.

76 reputed to have first received the war bundle of the Thunderbird clan, as we shall subsequently see.

Night Spirits.—They are known under two names, one used generally signifying literally "night" (*Aqá'*) and the other used only in rituals signifying "Those-who-walk-in-darkness" (*Hók'a'was man'ya*). They are in control of war powers specifically and appear to men in the form of human beings. They are supposed to cause the darkness of night.

Disease-giver (*Hó'céré'y'wahj*).—This is a spirit whose counterpart does not seem to exist in any other tribe. He, like the Thunderbird and Night Spirits, is a great war deity, but as his name implies, he also presides over life and death by being the source of disease. His twofold nature has been touched on before. When prayers are offered to him he is besought to turn away his "death" side and present only his "life" side.

Great Black Hawk.—Always known as *K'oredjy'sep xa'tera*. A powerful war deity.

The Sun.—The Sun is known generally as *ut'ra*, and in rituals as *Ilāhani'ndjera*, Light-wanderer; or as *Ilāhanjho'ra*, He-who-brings-the-light-of-day. There seems little doubt but that in the earlier history of Winnebago culture he played a far greater rôle than he does to-day or did when the culture of the tribe was still intact. According to one informant he and Fire were dispatched as Transformers to rid the world of the bad spirits. As in the older conception of Earthmaker, his former rôle comes out most prominently in the nonritualistic myths, especially in the Twin cycle. In none of the many rituals of the tribe was his cult developed. He was regarded as one of the greatest war deities.

The Morning Star.—He is always known as *Wiragó'cgo xetara*, the great star. He, like the Sun, seems to have enjoyed a greater popularity before the rise of the complex rituals. He is purely and simply a war deity.

The Moon.—Generally known as *Ilāh'wira*, night-sun, but in rituals as *Ilāh'regi hōra'djone*, You-who-come-at-night. The Moon is a female deity in control of many powers, but apparently of no very specific ones. She is not supposed to be one of the preeminent war deities but to be more closely associated with blessings referring to long life.

The South Wind.—Known as *Rek'ó'hōhj*, Wind-going-with-the-stream. He is a war deity, but not on a par with the others.

The Earth.—Generally known either as *ma'na*, earth, or simply as *k'ó'nik'a*, grandmother, a female deity connected almost exclusively with peace. She played a far greater rôle in the earlier phases of Winnebago religious development than she did in the later and is found as an important figure in all the nonritualistic Transformer cycles, especially in that of the Hare. Her rôle in the ritualistic

myths is quite important, too, but there she has been changed from 776
a rather indifferent and at times hostile deity to a beneficent,
all-loving Mother-earth.

The Water. Generally known as niya, water, but ritually as
hugge', chief. There is some doubt as to whether water or the Water
Spirit is meant here. This is a deity in no way connected with war.
He is most commonly associated with medicines, especially the [789]
famous "paint" medicines (wase').

These are the more important spirits and the only ones to whom
buckskins are offered in the following ceremony. The following are,
however, also of considerable importance:

Eagle.—Always known as Teaxrep, eagle. A powerful war deity [614]
and a clan animal.

Pigeon Hawk. Always known as K'irjk'ir'agersa, pigeon hawk. A
powerful war deity.

Wanagi're Cankrik.—A term difficult to translate, but meaning, in
general, a terror-inspiring man. It refers, however, not to a human
deity but to a bird that is supposed to be almost identical with the
hawk. It is the name of one of the Winnebago clans. A powerful
war deity.

North Wind.—Known as Wazi'regi hohi'ra, Wind-that-is-in-the-
pino-region. He is associated with war, but is not a very important deity.

Black Hawk.—Known as k'ereldj sep. What difference there is
between this spirit and Great Black Hawk is not clear.

Day.—Known as hap, day or light. The term is used in rituals,
especially in the medicine dance, with the meaning of life. He is
very rarely sacrificed to and his mention in this particular perform-
ance of the Thunderbird war-bundle feast is merely an illustration of
the fact that offerings could be made to any spirit.

In addition to the spirits mentioned above, offerings were made at
different performances of the war-bundle feast to all the other spirits [782]
and even to heroes, like Trickster, Turtle, Hare, Bladder, Red-Horn,
and the Twins. In the performance as given in the following account
one great spirit is omitted, He'rok'a, meaning, literally, "Without
horns." A buckskin is always offered to him, on which is painted
a small bow and arrow. He is one of the important Winnebago
deities, is supposed to be a Lilliputian, and controls many of the
powers relating to hunting.

In order to avoid offending any spirit they always leave a portion
of tobacco as an offering to those whose names they can not for the
moment think of.

DESCRIPTION OF THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

The present war bundle has been in the family of B. for a number 778
of generations. Our informant obtained it directly from his father.

Radin]

THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

447

FIRST DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE THUNDER-
BIRDS

Introductory remarks by Blowenake, informant.—In winter, in mid-winter, then it was that I used to pour tobacco.* That was the time I would go out and hunt for game.

Well, to-night, a vapor bath I shall take, and if I can secure food for boiling, that kind of a feast I shall give. As many of the leaders as have come, that many shall be with me as I take a vapor bath in the sweat lodge. We are now about to enter the sweat lodge, for everything is in readiness.¹⁰

SWEAT-LODGE RITUAL

We entered the sweat lodge and undressed, and after we had entered they (the outsiders) closed the lodge covering. I took both the tobacco and the other things I was to use as offerings with me.

Host's salutation and initial speech to participants.—"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle owners." My grandparents, especially my grandfather,¹¹ had concentrated their minds upon this for me. The fireplace with which they blessed my grandfather,¹² that I am going to ask for myself. However weakly I may wobble about,¹³ my elders will aid me. I am now going to pour a little tobacco and offer, my elders, whatever feast I am able to. War-bundle owners, I send forth my greetings to you. War-bundle owners, I greet you. Ye elders, I am about to pour tobacco for them (the spirits)."

Host's offering to Earthmaker.—"Hearken, Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer you a handful of tobacco." My ancestor Djö-benagwi'axga¹⁴ concentrated his mind upon you. The fireplaces with which you blessed him;¹⁵ the small amount of life you granted to him; all, four times the blessings you bestowed upon my ancestor, that I ask of you directly. Also that I may have no troubles (in life)."

Host's offering to the chief of the Thunderbirds.—"To you, who live in the west, our grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, a handful of

* "Pouring tobacco" is the ritualistic term for giving a feast.

¹⁰ The informant has passed to the present tense now, for he is actually giving an account of the last War-bundle Feast he gave and imagining that the writer is present.

¹¹ The word tobacco in Winnebago rituals is used as a generic expression for an offering. Thus the word *andegwa'* is known, literally, "What we are to offer as tobacco."

¹² Literally, "Caldron of the bundle."

¹³ He does not really mean grandparents, but elders.

¹⁴ The word here used for fireplace is a ritualistic one. It means, literally, "That one throws within something, i. e., an offering." It also has here the secondary meaning of *food*.

¹⁵ Used metaphorically.

¹⁶ I. e., the regular offering.

¹⁷ An ancestor of the informant.

¹⁸ Here "fireplaces" mean blessings, for only those who had blessings could own fireplaces, and as a fireplace was owned for each separate spirit, the greater their number the greater the number of blessings. In all rituals it is customary to speak of blessings received, as well as of personal accomplishments, with an exaggerated modesty.

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796^x

[515]

[782]

796^x
539^x
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tobacco I am about to offer you. My grandfather Ihjōnenagiwi'saga ^{776^x} you strengthened. The food, the deer-couple you gave him for his ^{539^x} fireplaces, that I ask of you directly. May it be a fact that you ⁷⁸² accept this tobacco from me and may I not meet with troubles (in ⁷⁷⁶ life)."

Host's offering to the Great Black Hawk.—"You also blessed my grandfather, Great Black Hawk. Whatever food you blessed him with that I ask of you directly. Tobacco I am about to pour for you that you may smoke it. May troubles not come upon me; that I ask."

Host's offering to the Night Spirits.—"You on the other side, who live in the east, who walk in darkness," tobacco I am about to offer you to smoke. Whatever you blessed my ancestor with, whatever fireplaces you blessed him with, those I ask of you. If you smoke this tobacco never will I be a weakling."

Host's offering to Disease-giver.—"You who live in the south; you who look like a man; who art invulnerable; who on one side of your body prevent death and on the other life, Disease-giver, as they call you. My ancestor in the daytime, in broad daylight, did you bless. With food you blessed him. You told him that he would never fail in anything. You told him that you would avoid his home." You placed animals (i. e., food) in front of him that he should not be troubled about obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled by anything (in life)."

Host's offering to the Sun.—"To you, Light-Wanderer, an offering of tobacco I make. May it be my good fortune that you accept it. Whatever fireplaces you blessed him (i. e., my ancestor) with, those I ask of you directly. May I not be troubled by anything in life."

Host's offering to the Moon.—"You also, Grandmother Moon, blessed my ancestor with food. With whatever you blessed him, that I ask of you now directly. An offering of tobacco I am about to make for you now, so that you may smoke. Whatever blessings you bestowed upon my grandfather, I pray you to give me now, so that by reason of it I may never become a weakling."

Host's offering to the South Wind.—"To you, too, South Wind, I offer a handful of tobacco, that you may smoke it. May it so happen that you accept it and that I am spared troubles (in life). With whatsoever you blessed my ancestor, that I ask of you."

Host's offering to Earth.—"For you likewise, Grandmother Earth, will I pour tobacco. With whatever blessings you blessed my grandfather, those I ask of you. May I in that way never become a weakling."

* *Hik'owa Moshon*, "those who walk in darkness," is the Algonquian name of the Night Spirits.
* I. e., that you would not permit disease and death to enter it.

Host's offering to the Eagle.—"To you, a pair of Eagles, my ancestor prayed. The blessings you bestowed upon him, those I ask of you. I am about to pour a handful of tobacco for you. May you accept it and ward off trouble from me."

Host's general offering to the spirits.—"Hearken, all ye spirits to whom my ancestor prayed: to all of ye, I offer tobacco. My ancestor Djá-benagiw'xaga gave a feast to all those who had blessed him." However, as it is about time to proceed to the next part (we will ask you once again) to bestow upon us all the blessings you gave our ancestor. That we may not become weaklings, I ask of you. I greet you all."

THE DOG RITUAL

When they decide to use a dog (as a sacrifice) they take the greatest care of it from its infancy upward. With great kindness do they rear it. They never strike it when rearing it. Just like their own child do they treat it. They take great care of its food. They love it very much, just as they love their own children. Thus is the dog loved. If they are going to sacrifice it, then before they kill the dog they make the following preparation and the man who is to make the sacrifice speaks thus:

"My younger brother, you are to go to the south: to the Disease-giver you are to go. There you will live better than here. War powers and life we wish to have and that you should ask for."

The dog is not to be killed by striking, but a rope is to be used and he is to be strangled to death, so that there will not be any blood. It is forbidden to shed blood. Thus they tried to make an offering to one of the great spirits.

When the dog is to be killed, the one who is to do it prepares him. A pouch of tobacco and red feathers are tied around the neck of the dog to be offered. Then the man made another pouch of tobacco and another, till he had four, and these with (eagle) feathers he tied to the four limbs, one pouch to each limb of the dog. Then the war bundle was opened and purified with cedar leaves. Then they laid the dog in front of the war bundle, making him face south.

GENERAL PLACING OF THE TOBACCO

When they have finished arranging the buckskins and are about ready to start the singing, then the feasters mix tobacco and strew it over the war bundle. They offer this tobacco for all the spirits who exist. Even the man who originally obtained the war bundle

"And we are repeating this now," should be added. The word for feast here means literally, "between parties."

will be present to smoke with them, it is said. And lest (through forgetfulness) they do not think of certain spirits they have some tobacco ready for these, that they may also smoke it. Wherever it is that the spirits have their gathering places there it is that the tobacco goes. The Thunderbirds have a tobacco-gathering place, it is said. The Night Spirits have one also, it is said. The place that I spoke of as the one where Djohenāggiwi'xga was blessed, that is the tobacco-gathering place of the Night Spirits, Grandfather Djohenāggiwi'xga said. Up above there is also a tobacco-gathering place, it is said. And, again, on the earth there is a gathering place somewhere, it is said. Under the earth there is a gathering place somewhere also, it is said. The mixed tobacco is placed in the center of the long lodge, and though this is not pure tobacco there is plenty of it. The feasters try to consume all of it. They would smoke very much, for they desired (certain things from the spirits). Thus the feasters would encourage one another, for they, the spirits, loved holy tobacco. "Try to make them smoke as much tobacco as possible that you may obtain war powers, it is said."

He (the host) smoked for them (the spirits). He also encouraged the feasters (to smoke) and had the attendants go repeatedly to fill the pipe of the guests seated in the lodge. "Be diligent," he told them "and try to smoke as much as you can." All night he offered them tobacco to smoke, it is said.²

THE TOBACCO OFFERING TO THE SPIRITS

Host's initial speech. "Six white buckskins, with enough material for as many pairs of moccasins, I am going to send to our grandparents. They will be able to recognize (the buckskins) by the marks upon them."³ If (spirits) you recognize them, it is our desire that you take these buckskins. That is why I am doing this. I hope, also, that our grandfathers will accept our food offerings. That is why I am making them. Many are the war-bundle owners who are sitting here; the lodge tent is full of them. I am thankful for it. I am going to make you very tired; I am going to make you very hungry; but I know you never thought of that.⁴ You are thinking only of our grandfathers, the spirits, and that is why you have permitted my lodge to become filled up with people. It is good. All ye war-bundle owners who are seated here within, I greet you. I am now going to pour tobacco."

² This was omitted in the account as first obtained and was told afterwards. For this reason it contains more of a general description than of a detailed narrative.

³ Every buckskin is marked with a symbol sacred to the particular spirit to whom it is offered.

⁴ It is one of the cardinal truths of Winnebago ritualistic oratory that everything that the speaker does is to be deplored and that any honor or consideration shown to him by his guests is to be ascribed more to a feeling of pity in their breasts than to his worth.

[537]

Host's offering to Earthmaker. "Hearken, Father who dwells above," all things you have created. Yet if we would make an offering of tobacco you would accept it with thankfulness" (you said). So it has been said. I am about to offer a handful of tobacco and a buckskin for moccasins with it and a white-haired animal" to be cooked so that (you may have) a holy feast. These things I turn over to you. If you accept them, the first thing I wish to ask for will be (the honor of) killing (an enemy) outright, of leading warpaths, and of obtaining life honors." That is what we would like to lead (i. e., a war party). That is what I would ask of you. My relatives, as many as are sitting around here, even that many ask the same things of you."

Host's offering to the Thunderbirds. "Those in the west, our grandfather, Thunderbird Chief, you blessed grandfather, and I am now going to offer you a handful of tobacco. With thanks you will accept it (it has been said). Buckskin for moccasins, also, I am sending over to you. A feast made from one whom we regard as one of yourselves, whose body we are like." I am sending along for you. Indeed a sacred feast I am offering you; that I am now sending toward you. As many of our clan members as are here, they (all) desire to make these requests: To kill an enemy outright, to lead a war party, and—O grant it to us! a life honor. Life, that is what I pray for to you—that we ask of you. Our clan has put itself in a pitiable condition," so that we may live a good life. That we ask of you."

Host's offering to the Night Spirits.—"You who live in the east, you who walk in darkness, you directed your minds toward grandfather, and for that I will pour tobacco for you, now and forever, so that you may bless me. A handful of tobacco, if we pour for you, we know it will make you thankful, and for that reason do I offer you some. A buckskin for moccasins and, together with it, a sacred feast that I am about to send toward you. With whatever you blessed grandfather, that I and all my clansmen who are here ask of you. This request, that one of us lead the war party you

* His Christian influence is to be suspected in this form of address.

* According to Shumaker's commentary, Earthmaker first created all the various spirits and bestowed upon each one of them certain powers. When finally he created man he noticed that he had nothing left to give him, so he decided to give him tobacco. This was to remain his exclusive possession, and not even he, Earthmaker, would be able to take it away from him. It was finally agreed that man would offer it to Earthmaker and the other spirits and receive in return therefore specific blessings.

* Ritualistic name for deer.

* "Killing an enemy outright" means killing him in the midst of his own people and without the assistance of anyone else. It was the highest war honor that a Winnebago could obtain and entitled him to wear an eagle feather in his hair. "Life honors" always refer to war honors.

* The whole phrase from "subsequent" to "child's life" is a ritualistic expression for dog. The dog is referred to as "like one of ourselves" in reference to the fact that one of the clans is called wolf or dog. Thus in offering up the dog they wish to imply that they are offering up themselves.

* I. e., a condition which calls for pity.

796^x
539^x
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[773]

[554]

RADIN]

THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

457

have predestined for us (we make).²¹ Pitiable we are making our-
selves in life, that we may live a good life (by obtaining blessings
from you). That we ask of you." 796^x
539^x
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776

Host's offering to Disease-giver.—"For you who live in the south,
Disease-giver, my grandfather Djöbenaggiwi'xga thirsted himself to
death²² and put himself in a pitiable condition. Then you who are
in charge of great war powers blessed him. For you control a
greater amount of war powers than any other spirit. A great
amount of life you also control, for you are said (to possess two
sides), one side of your body containing life and the other death.
You told grandfather Djöbenaggiwi'xga that you would bless him
at noon, in broad daylight,²³ and thus indeed you met him. There
you blessed him with war powers; and with whatever you blessed
him, that we ask of you now. Whosoever of my clan are present
they all pour an offering of tobacco for you and also (give you)
soup.²⁴ The Creator made animals for us, white-haired animals for
food, and these we send to you; together with buckskins, that you
may have moccasins. We also send toward you a head ornament
(of eagle feathers), that also. We offer you tobacco and we ask of
you to bestow upon us that with which you blessed our grandfather
Djöbenaggiwi'xga. Grandfather Djöbenaggiwi'xga had had war
powers and life, it is said; and those we ask of you. And it is said
that you told grandfather that whenever you go on your warpath
you will not walk upon the descendants of Djöbenaggiwi'xga
wherever they breathe.²⁵

Host's offering to the Sun.—"You, grandfather Who-bring-day,
who come every day, you blessed grandfather Djöbenaggiwi'xga
with war power and life and I am therefore offering you a handful
of tobacco. All the (war power) the Creator controls he delegated
to you and for all of that which you blessed our grandfather, as many
of my clansmen as are present, we are about to pour tobacco to
obtain. Tobacco, here it is."

Host then pours tobacco into the fire.

"It is said that you will do what we ask of you. You yourself
told that to grandfather, it is said. War powers and life, that we
ask of you. Tobacco, food, and feathers, we sacrifice to you and

²¹ A person may be blessed with victory on the warpath directly or he may be entitled to war blessings
to which near relatives were destined but which they were deprived of by an early death. The present
prayer is directed toward both things, that he may enjoy the "usual" blessings of his relative and that
he may not be cut off by an untimely death from the fulfillment of his own.

²² Elliptical expression for fasting.

²³ To be blessed in the daytime, especially at noon, was considered as particularly holy. Generally a
person was blessed at night.

²⁴ Literally, "hot water."

²⁵ I. e., when Disease-giver deals out death he will avoid all the descendants of Djöbenaggiwi'xga.
"Hast'na" is the technical word for warpath. The word for descendants really means "roots."

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if you accept them, then we will assuredly wear war honors (some 796^x day). That we may pass through life without any troubles and that 539^x we may live long, we ask of you and offer you tobacco, grandfather." 776^x 782

Head's offering to Earth.—"Grandmother, you blessed Djöhenagwi-wi'xga with whatever the Creator delegated to you. With everything that exists on the earth, for all eternity, did you tell grandfather you would bless him, and this is what we ask of you and for which we will forever offer you tobacco. You will do it, he told us you had said. A handful of tobacco we are about to send toward you, we, as many of our clansmen as are here. Tobacco do you accept from us, grandmother. A handful of tobacco there, upon him who stands in the middle of the lodge," do we pour. Give us war powers and life; for these we beseech you. Here it is, the tobacco."

The host then pours some tobacco into the fire.

"Soup, vegetables, together with maple sugar we are about to send you." If you accept them, life we will obtain; that we ask of you."

Head's offering to the Moon.—"Grandmother, You-Who-Come-at-Night," grandmother, you blessed grandfather Djöhenagwi'xga and now all his descendants, as many as there are, are about to offer you tobacco. Now when we come to a tobacco offering we will certainly offer some to you. And you will be cognizant of it, you assured us yourself, it is said. Whatever you are in control of and with which you blessed our grandfather Djöhenagwi'xga for all eternity, that we are to ask for at all times, they told us you had said and you will assuredly give it to us. The tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"I am using the tobacco as a means of obtaining life for myself and my relatives." The Creator gave it to me and I am offering it to you. As many of our clansmen as are here we beg of you war powers; and that if we ever go on a warpath "there we will obtain the war honors. Soup and the animals the Creator made for me," the black-furred one "we are offering you; soup of bear ribs. A sacred feast we are about to hold for you. A buckskin for moccasins we are about to send out to you. War powers and life we ask of you; that you give us life, so that our days may be happy. Truly, grandmother, did you bless our grandfather Djöhenagwi'xga with what-

* "He who stands in the middle of the lodge" is the Rimalistic name for the Supplere. He is always permitted and the tobacco is generally conceived of as being poured upon his head. [354]

* As the offerings are made to the earth, vegetables and maple sugar are selected.

* Rimalistic name for the moon. The regular name is "habe win" (night sun).

* The term "unabigwi'k'wäwi," literally meaning "a life beseecher," is used only in rituals and is generally taken to include any offering.

* "Naghi," is the regular word for warpath. Literally it means simply "road."

* I.e., what the Creator had placed in his way and permitted him to catch and prepare for this feast. It is in this specific significance that it is meant here.

* "H'wahon" is both the ritualistic and ceremonial name for the feast.

ever powers the Creator put in your control. That with which you blessed grandfather it is said you would give us, too, when in the course of time we would pray to you to bestow them upon us. So it is reported our grandfather Djöhenaggiwi'xga said. A handful of tobacco was placed for you in the fire. You would smoke it, it is said that you, yourself, told grandfather. Tobacco, you told him you would always accept, it is said. Here it is, the tobacco. 796^x
539^x
776
782

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"If you smoke the tobacco for us, war powers and happiness in life we will ask of you. Soup, vegetables, rice, and maple sugar we send out to you, and buckskin for moccasins likewise. If you accept these things from us, it will be ours to use, war power and life. That we ask of you, grandmother."

Host's offering to the chief of the Eagles. "Chief of the Eagles, you who walk on light" up above. You, yourself, said that only you are the greatest one in control of war powers. That you are thus, you said of yourself. Life also you are in charge of. You blessed our grandfather Djöhenaggiwi'xga with whatever powers the Creator put you in control. You blessed grandfather for all eternity,^a and for those powers we are now about to offer you tobacco. It is for that purpose you told grandfather we should have a tobacco pouring. So grandfather told us, it is said. Grandfather also made a sacred bundle^b and to this you also added your power, grandfather said, it is said. The tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"To you, chief of the Eagles, grandfather, do we pour tobacco. With whatever you blessed grandfather, that we ask of you. All the members of the clan offer you tobacco that you may have knowledge of it (i. e., the tobacco) and bestow upon us who dwell on the earth war powers and life. That is what we ask of you, grandfather."

Host's offering to the Day.—"To the Day" I pour tobacco, also soup, and a rib of a white-haired animal (i. e., a deer). A sacred meal we are about to offer to you. Grandfather Djöhenaggiwi'xga you blessed and you also added your thoughts,^c it is said. If you accept tobacco and the feast, war powers and life we assuredly are going to obtain. For that we ask, grandfather."

^a "Highness" or "god" is the ritual name for any being. Although rarely used except in rituals, it is yet generally known among the people, a fact that does not hold for most of the other ritualistic appellations. ^b The act phrase which from now on we will translate by "sacred," is literally "as long as the earth lasts, that long."

^c "Wagapi" or "wagapi'wapi" means literally, "He tied up the spirit mind or manifestation," i. e., he made a bundle of the blessings he received from the various spirits. Ighewagapi'xga is the individual who is supposed to have first received the clan bundle. The word "wagapi" is a very difficult one to render accurately in English.

^d Although, according to the Winnebago conception, the light of day is associated with the sun, yet the sun is not regarded as sending the light any more than the absence of the sun is thought to be the cause of darkness, but both light (daylight) and darkness are associated with special deities.

^e "Wagapi" is not to be thought of in an abstract sense but as something quite as tangible as a material object.

Host's offering to the South Wind.—"South Wind, to the bundle
grandfather Djöhenagji'xga made you added your power, so
grandfather Djöhenagji'xga said, it is said. That which the
Creator put in charge of you, and with which you blessed grandfather
Djöhenagji'xga, as long as the earth lasts, we are about to pour
tobacco for, as you yourself told us. The tobacco, here it is." 776^x
539^x
776[●]
782

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"A four-legged animal," a coon, that the Creator made for us, we are going to give you in the form of a soup. If you accept the soup and likewise smoke the tobacco, then the first request (we wish to make) is that it might be our fortune to obtain war powers and travel safely (on the path) of life. This is what we ask."

Host's offering to the North Wind.—"Wind who lives in the north, you said 'I am the equal of (the spirit of the north)';" so grandfather Djöhenagji'xga said, it is said. Tobacco, soup, vegetables, what a tree bears, fruit, as we call it, and maple sugar, that also we send toward you. If you accept them, the request (we make) is for war power and life; that we ask of you. To kill a person outright is an excellent power to have, grandfather Porcupine," you said of yourself. So grandfather Djöhenagji'xga said, it is said."

Host's offering to the Black Hawk.—"Black Hawk, you also added your powers for grandfather, it is said; and a handful of tobacco I am pouring for you for that reason. Whatever war powers and life the Creator put in your control, that I ask of you. You blessed grandfather Djöhenagji'xga for as long a period as the world would last, and you said that you would always smoke tobacco, it is said. If you are cognizant of this tobacco, let us obtain life and war power. For these we ask."

Host's offering to the Wöna'yjre Os'akcik.—"Grandfather Thunderbird, Wöna'yjre Os'akcik, as they call you, you added your power also, it is said. Tobacco we are about to pour for you. Tobacco only (we are giving you), so that we may obtain war powers and life; that with which you blessed grandfather Djöhenagji'xga for all eter-

* A Winnebago manner of speaking of a quadruped, just as it is common in English to speak of human beings as "the two-legged walkers."

* I, e., said does not offend me. The North Wind and the spirit of cardinal point north are of course entirely distinct.

* No person is known why the spirit is here addressed as porcupine.

* The "Wöna'yjre Os'akcik" are birds living in the country generally identified with the hawk. Here they seem to be identified with a kind of Thunderbird. Whoever is blessed by them becomes a great warrior. The term really means "a terror-inspiring man," by reason of his great war powers. One of the Winnebago clans has this name. The explanation for the identification of the Wöna'yjre Os'akcik with the Thunderbird is probably the following: The Thunderbird is not regarded as belonging to any particular bird species, but any bird can be either a normal bird or a Thunderbird. Where and in this sense, the identification Thunderbird is generic, and the term used in the text, "Wöna'yjre Os'akcik," is then best translated by "Thunderbird-Wöna'yjre Os'akcik." Thunderbird specifically is understood to be in reality not a bird but a being in human shape. Cf. introduction. The general conception of Thunderbird given here is founded upon also by J. O. Doney in his "Sioux Culture."

name]

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nity, may we obtain from you. If you accept the tobacco may I and my relatives live well by reason thereof; that we ask of you. That is all."

Host's offering to Big Black Hawk.—"You, Big Black Hawk, who are in charge of war powers," blessed grandfather Djöhenagwi'xga with war powers and life, and these we are to ask of you, you told grandfather, and pour tobacco at the same time. As many tobacco offerings as he (grandfather) would have liked to have had and as many (buckskin) offerings as he would have desired, that many there will be for you. If you accept the tobacco and feast and all the offerings, you will assuredly give (us blessings). Thus you told grandfather Djöhenagwi'xga. Tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"If we extend toward you a handful of tobacco, you said you would always smoke it. If, at a tobacco offering, you smoked the tobacco, the requests we might make are these—war powers and life. A feast of one whom you look upon in the same way as ourselves (i. e., a dog), one whom I have been treating like a brother, with whom the children have eaten the soup of such a one, we are giving you. An offering of buckskin for moccasins and of one like ourselves (a dog), whose body is well prepared, do they offer you. Food they are offering you, asking in return for life." You are the only one in control of great war powers. The Creator placed you in charge of life; above the Creator created you. With that you blessed grandfather Djöhenagwi'xga for all eternity. We will have a tobacco pouring, that you may give us (these things). If you take cognizance of the feast offerings, the buckskin offerings; if you will take them, then we will obtain the war honors and then we will obtain life. We, as many older people as we are here, beseech you for those powers you added to the spirit bundle of our grandfather Djöhenagwi'xga. We will not have enough food to go around," but if we offer you tobacco, it will not be an offense (thus to act to you) (we have been told)."

This is what they used to say at the tobacco pouring. This it is. (Song.)

THE BUCKSKIN OFFERING TO THE SPIRITS

(Host speaks again.) "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. We are endeavoring to prepare footwear for our grandfathers," but we did not really accomplish it. Spirit footwear we tried to make, that is what we were doing, but our work was lacking

* A daily apparently distinct from Black Hawk. He is the one to whom offerings are always made.

* Literally "in control of great bundles."

* "Wag" is the standard name for life. Literally it means "light."

* A respectful expression of modesty.

* I. e., offer buckskins for moccasins to the spirits.

776^x
539^x
776
782

in every respect. However, our grandfathers (the spirits) would not take offense at the (inadequacy) of our work, it is said. That we may not be weakened, for that reason it is that we are preparing the moccasins for our grandfathers. Up above we are going to send them." 796^x
539^x
776[●]
782

Offering to the Thunderbird.—"Grandfather Thunderbird, our clan is sending you moccasins. War powers and life are the requests we make in turn."

Offering to Night Spirits.—"You who live in the east, moccasins do we send you, and the request we make, is war power and life. That we ask for."

Offering to Disease-giver.—"Disease-giver, grandfather, moccasins we send you. Grandfather, life you possess on one side of your body, and death you are in control of on the other side of your body, so our grandfather Djöbenagiwi'xga told us, it is said. War power and life, that is the request we make."

Offering to South Wind.—"To you, grandfather South Wind, here is the tobacco for our grandfathers. You blessed grandfather Djöbenagiwi'xga with war powers and life and you said yourself that you would bless (his descendants) whenever they offered you a handful of tobacco and you accepted it. Moccasins we are sending you. Food we are about to offer you. Whatever you blessed grandfather with that we ask of you."

Offering to the Sun.—"Grandfather Light-Wanderer, you said that if at any time we poured a handful of tobacco for you and smoked tobacco as an offering (you would give us) that with which you blessed grandfather Djöbenagiwi'xga whenever we ask for it. So it is said. Moccasins we are sending you. Soup, vegetables, and maple sugar also we are about to send you. Tobacco is what we think of in connection with you. If you take cognizance of it, war honors we will assuredly obtain. Life, that is what we would like to obtain."

Offering to Earthmaker.—"You who are above, our Father, we ask life of you, extending tobacco. You made this for us; you let us have it. Indeed it is you that made it and yet you will take a handful of it that we extend to you and accept it as an offering. That is what you said to us. So grandfather Djöbenagiwi'xga said, it is said. You blessed grandfather Djöbenagiwi'xga with war powers and life. Bless us in turn now that we are about to offer you a handful of tobacco. We, as many clansmen as there are here, are about to send to you moccasins so that we may obtain life from you. Tobacco, deerskins as offerings, food of the white-haired animal, of a male animal, we are about to offer you."

Offering to the Moon.—"Grandmother, the Moon, moccasins, soup and tobacco, these we are about to offer you. Our request is for the

things with which you blessed grandfather Djöhenagwi'xaga. That we ask of you." 796^x
539^x

Offering to the Morning Star.—"You who are above, Morning Star, our request is that you bless us with that with which you blessed grandfather Djöhenagwi'xaga. Tobacco and food and a buckskin offering we are about to send you." 782
776

Offering to Earth.—"Grandmother Earth, you also added your power to the spirit bundle that grandfather Djöhenagwi'xaga made. The powers Earthmaker put you in control of, and with which you blessed grandfather Djöhenagwi'xaga, those we ask of you. Tobacco, soup, and a buckskin offering we are about to send to you and the request that we make of you, is war power and life."

Offering to the Water-spirit.—"Water-spirit, grandfather whose body is of water," tobacco, food, and a buckskin offering for mocassins, we are about to offer you. I and my relatives desire to lay our hands on war and life."

General prayer to the spirits.—"Grandfathers, we have probably been very remiss in what we have done, but do not hold it against us, grandfathers. We greet you, war-bundle owners. The life (blessings) that those who have gone before us had, the songs that they handed down to us, not in their manner will we be able to sing, but still, however it be, it will be (our best). It has been said that nothing will provoke you," grandfathers. Well, however, that is the way we will do it. I greet you." (Song.)

FILLING OF THE CEREMONIAL PIPE AND SMOKING RITUAL

First filling of the pipe.—After they have sung the first war-bundle song, then they get a pipeful of tobacco ready and place it near the war bundle, speaking as follows: "Our father who art above, for you the pipe is extended; up straight above it is placed." Up straight above it is extended to Earthmaker, they say. For that reason do they arrange the pipe in that way. Then when the songs are finished the attendant takes the pipe, lights it, and takes it with him to the left side, giving all the men in the lodge an opportunity to smoke. Women are not allowed to smoke. The tobacco in the pipe is entirely consumed as the pipe makes the circuit of the lodge and it is then filled again. [562]

Second filling of the pipe.—Then there at the feast for the second time do they place (the pipe). When they are about to sing the

* That this spirit was not mentioned before is an oversight on the part of the informant.

* Informal and ethnologic names for the Water-spirit. It may mean chief. The general name which we loosely translate "Water-spirit" is "Water-deity."

* I. e., that we inventory our ignorance on their part will anger the spirits and cause them to rebuke them! Undertaking their blessings. This is, of course, an expression of ethnologic modesty, but I suspect that there is also a reference intended here to the fact that in those depressive days not only are individuals no longer blessed as of yore, but certainly details of the ceremony have a long digestion. I am so much for giving too much weight to this last fact, but it may be best to leave it as stated.

(same)

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are finished then it will be time for us to eat." Warriors who are sitting within the lodge, we send forth our greetings to you." (War-bundle song.) 796^x
539^x

Then a man sitting opposite the seat of the host gets up and speaks.

First guest's address to the young people.—"War-bundle owners, young men, those who are the proxies of spirits, are about to use a song for you and start a dance in your behalf; and when they do it, get up and try to obtain war powers by dancing. Women, you should also try to obtain war powers for your brothers by dancing. Now we are not able to obtain (the number of men) that our ancestors used to obtain in the beginning. Then, if in a speech they asked for them, as many men as there were around would immediately begin to dance. Not one of them would remain in his seat. Young women, they used to act in that way in order to obtain life also. All night they would dance and not a single one would tire of it. We encourage you to do thus; that is why I am saying this. That the obtaining of life may be easy, is the reason they told us this. Because I believe it (likewise) is the reason I am telling it to you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all."

Host's second speech.—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you all."

"Our grandfathers knew that one of a different tribe^a had had a vision and obtained material for use (in life). They tried to obtain it and (finally) asked him to pity them. The medicine was called *hinugwa'ronj*.^b They made the heart of the man of this other tribe (Hir'e'nugk'e) sad." (He had obtained it in the following manner): A woman fasted^c and one of the Water-spirits whom the Creator had placed there for all eternity, a Water-spirit for keeping (the earth) quiet,^d blessed her with the power he had been placed in charge of. The Water-spirit had himself die and the woman there 790^x
539^x
787
[776]
[789]

^a Literally, "the newcomers" in reference to the fast-eating contest that takes place during the feast.

^b This is not a Winnebago tale.

^c My interpreter could not translate the name of this medicine into English. He thought that it might mean "a woman made her," but this is extremely doubtful.

^d I.e., at the time of parting with it. What tribe is meant by "Hir'e'nugk'e," it has been impossible to find out. The word, I believe, means "those whom we can speak with" in reference to the fact that their language was intelligible to the Winnebago. I was definitely assured that neither the Ojib, Iow, or Kickapoo were meant. I have sometimes wondered that the Winnebago may be referring to the Mandan, whose language, from the little I have seen of it, is surprisingly close to that of the former. All that the older Winnebago could tell me about the Hir'e'nugk'e was the fact that many years ago they had been in contact with a tribe speaking a language similar to their own. [114]

^e Literally, "to abstain oneself to death," the rhetorical expression for fasting.

^f He is referring to one of the four beings whom Earthmaker had placed at the four ends of the world to prevent it from moving and finally, as related in the origin myth of the Medicine Dancers and the Thunder-bird also.

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took the material (the remains of the Water-spirit).⁷⁹ That it is good, they knew. Then she tried her medicine. The first time she did the following: Up above, almost near the sky, a hawk stood whirling around. The woman dipped her forefinger into the medicine and then she pointed it at the hawk and it fell dead; she made it fall through the top of a house; right in front of the woman it landed. She wanted to use it as a medicine bag. Then she dreamed that they had taken a man from his home that he might fast. She said to the man, "Put forth all your strength and don't try to come here." She also told his relatives to watch him. "To-night I am going to sing a paint song and if he comes he will die. Take care of him that he doesn't come." That night she sang a paint song and the man came running to her. She forbade him but he came anyhow and he died dancing. This medicine is called hit'e'nus'k'e medicine, referring to the name of another tribe, and that is how it acted.

"They (our ancestors) knew that it was good paint and he (one of them) tried to get him (the Hit'e'nus'k'e) to bless him with the paint (the latter had obtained from the woman). When they obtained it, they never used it in their own midst (i. e., among themselves). They made a medicine-bundle of it. The paint-medicine, it is good to use in war. That they knew very well. They were very sparing in their use of it (because it was so valuable). They placed it in their war-bundle. Paint-songs we are about to use, yet we are singing for the war-bundle. If, indeed we had paint medicine we would amount to something. We are not going to sing as if we thought ourselves in possession of paint-medicines nor will we sing them correctly. Yet if we knew only one, if we could (in singing this one) bring ourselves to the state of crying (it would be all right), it is said. - That is why we say it." (Paint song.)

Hoof's third speech. "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. I know that I am causing you to famish with hunger, but we are doing this in an attempt to get the attention (of the spirits). One in control of death who dwells in the south⁸⁰ and who of himself possesses greater war power than all the other spirits that exist, blessed grandfather Djöbenagwi'saga. He is in control of life and in control of death. He met grandfather in the middle of the day and blessed him with war powers and life. He said (to our grandfather when he blessed him), "If I should ever go on the warpath, your descendants, as many as they are and wherever they live, I will not tread upon, should they get sick." However, your posterity never will get sick. Should they ever have a bad illness,

⁷⁹ The Winnebago believe that the "bones" of the mythical "Water-spirits" possess the most magical qualities when powdered and mixed up into medicines. All "paint medicines" are made of "Water-spirit bones."

⁸⁰ All these references are, of course, expressions of ritualistic modesty.

⁸¹ I. e., Winnebago.

⁸² Cf. note 56, p. 467, for explanation of these words.

796X
539X
787
789

[77B]

796X
539X

[77B]

080

[77B]

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Should they ever have a bad illness

they have the means of obtaining life by praying for it," by offering tobacco and a flute.^{796x}

"Disease-giver himself made these things holy. Thus they would obtain life, if they had any illness, by offering you reed flutes, food, tobacco, feathers, a white dog, and by making you at the same time an offering of buckskin hides. (Thus Disease-giver spoke to our grandfather when he blessed him:) 'A holy flute I made for you, and I forbade you to blow upon it, ~~but~~ you did it. Now, hereafter, if you offer me a sufficient number of buckskins, you may blow upon it. A different life from that of others will you lead, if you do that. You will be able to cut off (stop) a bad disease caused by someone else. Nor will this one (who was ill) ever have another disease.'"⁷⁸²

"Thus Disease-giver spoke. This is what the one who causes disease said. That is how they blessed our grandfather Djöhenagwi'xga. A song I am now about to start. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Disease-giver sang.)⁷⁷⁶

Here's fourth spirit.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. The last (song) we will now finish. You who are in the east, Night Spirits, you also added your blessing to the spirit bundle of grandfather Djöhenagwi'xga. So that he might know (be blessed by) the spirits, grandfather Djöhenagwi'xga starved and thirsted himself to death^{797x} and made himself pitiable. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him: with mighty sounds they came." There they stood (and said), 'Human, you have thirsted yourself to death and we bless you (for that reason). We who speak are the spirits who are called Night Spirits.' They blessed him with war power and life, they said. Then he looked and (said to himself), 'I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits that speak.' So he looked at them and they were small birds called *he'e' pge*." They had fooled him. Then once again was his heart sore. 'Well! I will die,' he thought (fasting). So he fasted again and once again he rubbed on (the charcoal). For six nights he continued to fast. And again from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him (and said), 'Human, ~~we~~ bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We felt sad on your account. With

⁷⁹⁶ A rather curious expression used only in elevated language and meaning, literally, "to obtain with the mouth"—i. e., either by speaking, praying, or singing. The expression would hardly be permitted in ordinary Winnebago.

⁷⁹⁷ He does not mean by offering flutes, but by playing on them. Reed flutes are generally contained in the belongings of most spirits, but they seem to be more closely connected with the Disease-giver and the Buffalo.

⁷⁹⁸ This, I believe, is the meaning of the last three sentences. They are somewhat obscure, and I do not guarantee the correctness of the rendering.

⁷⁹⁹ Ritualistic expression for fasting.

⁸⁰⁰ All powerful spirits are supposed to approach with loud noises. This is also characteristic of the *Offway* spirits.

⁸⁰¹ English equivalent unknown.

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war power and life we bless you,' they said. Then he looked at them. ^{796x}
 'I wonder whether they really are the Night Spirits!' he thought. ^{539x}
 They were not the Night Spirits who were speaking to him. The ⁷⁸⁷
 birds that spoke were the *kawt'eye*, *tsödjä*, and *cí'k'ak'ok'*.²⁰ They ⁷⁷⁶
 were the ones that spoke and they were the ones that fooled him.
 Instead of feeling sad this time, however (he said), 'I don't care
 what happens: I am willing to die (in order to get the blessing),'
 he thought to himself. Then he began fasting again. He rubbed
 the (charcoal) over (his face) again. Seven nights he fasted. And
 once again from the east the Night Spirits came singing. They came
 and stood (before him) and they said, 'Nephew, we bless you. So
 long have you been sad and cried to us piteously (that we will bless
 you). No one did we ever bless before. In war and life you shall do
 just as you wish,' they said. Then he looked again. 'I wonder
 whether those speaking are really the Night Spirits!' he thought.
 But they were not the Night Spirits. They were the bluebird,
gi'eye,²¹ and duck, and as many of them as there were, their breasts
 were dark. As many birds as there were, they were bad. 'My, O my!
 How they abuse me!' he cried. At first *Djöhenaggiwi'axga* had
 thought in his fastings that just to spite them he would fast again.
 Now he rubbed (charcoal on his face) again and wept bitterly.²²
 Both hands contained tobacco and he stood in the direction from
 which the Night Spirits came and weeping, put himself in the most
 abject condition.

'Now, indeed, to its very depths did his heart ache. Ten nights
 did he fast. Finally they (the Night Spirits) came after him. 'Hu-
 man, I have come after you.' He followed (the spirits) and they took
 him to the east; to the site of a Night Spirit village they took him.
 The chief of the Night Spirits had sent him one to go after him. In
 the village was a long lodge standing in the east. There they took
 him. As many Night Spirits as there were in control of powerful
 blessings, of that many the lodge was full. When he entered he
 walked in white feathers up to his knees.²³ Many kettles and
 much food he saw stretched right across (the lodge). On the out-
 side, a buffalo hide stretched almost across the entire lodge. Then
 they said to him, 'Human, without giving up, long you have suffered;
 your heart has, indeed, been sad. They, as many spirits as there are

²⁰ English equivalents for the first two unknown. The last is probably the robin.

²¹ English equivalent unknown.

²² He wept bitterly not so much on account of his disappointment as for the purpose of bringing himself
 into a state of religious ecstasy. The change of attitude from one of spite to realization that not in such a
 way were blessings from deities like the Night Spirits to be obtained is very well brought out here. It was a
 cardinal tenet of the religion of the devout shamans that your success in obtaining blessings was in direct
 proportion to the motives and intensity of feeling you brought to your prayer. To throw away your life
 through mere disappointment was deemed absolutely unethical, (a thought that) is brought out quite
 distinctly in the systematic teachings given to the young.

²³ The lodges of the Night Spirits are supposed to be strewn with white feathers as a sign of holiness. As
 far as known no symbolism is attached to it.

Radin]

THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

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In the lodge, that many talked of what was to happen to you. And I, ^{796^x} ^{539^x} I am the chief of the Night Spirits. This creation-lodge just as you ⁷⁸⁷ see it (i. e., with all it contains) I give to you. You will never be ⁷⁷⁶ in want of food. You are to offer as many buckskins as you see here and tobacco for all time. Thus it shall be. The "creation-lodge" of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war parties as you wish and obtain as much life. As many tobacco offerings as they (i. e., you and your descendants) continue to give, all the tobacco, food, buckskin offerings, red feathers, as many as there are, they will all come to the "creation-lodge" that you see, and we will accept them. [782]

"Thus did they speak to grandfather Djöbenagwi'axga. So he ^{796^x} ^{539^x} said. We will do this that we may ask (blessings) for our relatives and sing songs. Even if we do not perform everything in just the manner that the spirits in the east (told) our grandfather Djöbenagwi'axga, we know that our grandfathers (the spirits) will not be offended. So they say. Even if you know only one song, if you bring yourself to the point of crying in your efforts (it will be all right). Thus we mean to say it. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

THE FEAST

Host's speech.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. Every spirit that the Creator created he made for us," but whatever food he made for us all those things we were to offer up (to the spirits) together with tobacco and the sacred feast. What we are to do, what I can do to make these things known to them, that is what we should think of and talk about. (This is what the Creator said): Let (the host) call upon a warrior, a young man present at the feast. For the one who lives in the west he should make offerings of tobacco and attempt to be like (the spirits), so that one of our own members should be considered (by the spirits) as the same as themselves. A sacred feast and tobacco together with it we are about to offer to the chief of the Thunderbirds in the west. What can I do that they might have knowledge of these (offerings)? Thus we should be thinking, (the Creator) said. A war-bundle owner who is present we should call upon (to take charge of) a kettle." [782]

* The lodge of the spirits are always called "creation lodge" in reference to the fact that it was by the assembled spirits in this lodge that at the beginning of the world everything was set in order. The primary "creation lodge" was that of Earthmaker, in which the soul of a dead individual wandered after death and from which he was sent to the world again if he chose to take human form once more.

* I. e., that they might give us blessings.

* I. e., impregnate the spirits. It will be remembered (cf. Introduction) that such guest is supposed to impregnate a spirit.

* Host's speech ends here. What follows is description.

[776
775]

names)

THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FRANTS

483

And a war-bundle owner for the second kettle should be called upon a kettle offered in connection with him whom we call Great Black Hawk.

796^x
539^x
782
776

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle placed for Disease-giver.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the spirit whom they call South Wind.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the Sun.

Then they also select another man to be in charge of a kettle put on for the Morning Star."

Then the first one who had been called upon for a kettle takes as many pieces of food as there are individuals in his band who eat with him. The second one who had been called upon also takes enough pieces (for his band).

796^x
539^x
262

Those who are going to eat the head have to wait."

Then all took enough pieces to suffice for their band.

Then they (the attendants) put the pieces of meat in plates and cut them up into small portions. Now all are in readiness for the meal. Only some of those in the lodge are called upon to eat the head. The plate of the others is filled with ordinary cuts (of meat). As many men and women as are present, for that many do they cut up the pieces of meat evenly and place them in the plate.

Only warriors are head eaters. Not to warriors do they give common pieces. Women and men who are not warriors can not take part in this head eating. Only men can take part in the head eating. They would not permit women to eat the head. However, those of the feasters who were warriors and had brought home war trophies would speak a good word for the trophy bearers, their sisters, their neices, and their aunts," and these would be allowed to sit in the midst of the head eaters. The sisters or the aunts, whatever women were allowed to sit among the head eaters, considered it a very great honor. Thus all were encouraged to do.

[554
562]

[602]

Now (the preparations being finished) all are waiting for the meal and the host gets up and speaks."

"I greet you all. When it (the meat) gets into the plate, then it is the time to try to get the spirit's attention by singing. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you all." (Eating song.)

" In the first division of the ritual seven kettles are prepared; in the second division, four.

" The eating of the deer's head is the greatest honor that one can obtain in this ceremony, and only warriors are permitted to take part in it.

" When a warrior returned from a successful war party with the first war honor, i. e., if he had counted coup first, he was given a woman's mother, and this he presented to his eldest sister or to the daughters of his father's brother or mother's sister or to his mother's sister.

" This is the continuation of his speech that had been interrupted by the preparations for the meal.

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THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

487

Even if a feaster gets satiated, he must continue to eat until every thing is finished. They tell one another that it is not good for any one to fail (and leave any food). Whatever food there is they must finish it all. All that is cooked must they eat. 796^x
539^x
264

CONTINUATION OF THE RAIN RITUAL

Then the one who was called upon for the first kettle thanked them and said: 796^x
539^x

Speech of first guest.—"Councilors¹⁰⁰ and relatives who are seated here, I greet you all. As many war-bundle owners as are seated here, I greet you all. The councilors of the clans have enjoined upon us earnestly to offer up sincere prayers to all the different spirits who are seated here (in the persons of the guests). It is good that our war-bundle owners offer up prayers in this way. It is for this reason that we are still living. Some of us can not accomplish much in that line and that is why so many of us are gone already (i. e., are dead). This ritual was made for one who is the very greatest of all the spirits, for whom they have offered tobacco and food and offerings of buckskin. Thus they have done. Earthmaker, who dwells above, they have asked for war power and life. Indeed, how would it be possible for (the spirits) not to take cognizance and accept (these offerings).¹⁰¹ If we follow the preaching (of our host), life (we will obtain); life we will feel ourselves in connection with through the holy food that they (the host and the members of his band) have offered up. We have (had the honor too) of impersonating the spirits, I and my relatives. The meal likewise was excellent. It is good that they have brought us in connection with so much life and it is to thank them that I am saying this. That one of their ancestors whom they called grandfather (and whose place I am taking) was not one to speak foolishly, it is said, and still his place they thought of for me (unworthy as I am). They have given me (the part) of a councilor of their own clan and (the privilege) of impersonating a spirit. It is good. Earthmaker they have prayed to.

I greet him. To the enjoiner (host) I send my greetings; to all the war-bundle owners who are seated here, I send forth my greetings.

Then the second one who was called upon for a kettle gets ready to thank them and says:

Speech of second guest.—"Host and relatives, as many as are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. War-bundle owners that

¹⁰⁰ The word means, usually, "enjoiners" and refers to the injunctions and instructions the older people give to the young.

¹⁰¹ I. e., the offerings are so wonderful that the spirits would have to be killed out to see them. This and the following sentences are humiliated compliments always paid to the host by the invited guests.

776[•]
782]

[367]

[1912]

THE CLEAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

501

song. Very good have they been to us. It is good. This is what I have longed for, what we have been doing and all the good they have said about us. It is good when you give a feast to do just what you wish. The war-bundle owners, as many as there are here, have spoken for me. It is good to obtain something when asking for it. Very well have they spoken. It is good; it is very good. You have eaten (the food) in my behalf; very carefully have you eaten it up for me. All the sacred speeches that they blessed him (our grandfather) with you have repeated so that you might obtain real life, you said. It is good and I thank you, for we have done here exactly what I have longed for. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." 539^x
796^x

SECOND DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE NIGHT SPIRITS

Introductory remarks.—Then the attendants get ready to put on the kettles for the second feast. When they are finished arranging the food that is to be turned over to the spirits the host prepares his tobacco and gets ready to pour it. Then he speaks the following: 539^x
796^x
776
782

THE TOBACCO OFFERING

Offering to the Night Spirits.—"To you, grandfather Djohenagjiw'axga, does the council lodge of the Chief of the Night Spirits, standing in the east, belong. Holy you have kept it. You (Chief of the Night Spirits) were the one who blessed him with it, he said. When the time comes for the tobacco pouring we will offer you a handful of tobacco. War power he liked to obtain by doing this. With what you blessed him, that we ask you to give us in return. Grandfather, Chief of the Night Spirits, tobacco, here it is.

"Here in the fire I shall place tobacco for you at all times. Tobacco, holy food, and buckskin for moccasins, all those things I will send to your sacred creation lodge." [276]

Offering to Earth.—"You who are our grandmother, Earth, you blessed grandfather Djohenagjiw'axga with life and war powers. As far as you extend, that far, O grandmother, do we spread out for you tobacco and food and moccasins. Here is the tobacco. Here in the fire shall I place tobacco; and food and offerings of buckskin will we send to you at all times. You will always accept them, grandfather said, it is said, so that our clansmen may travel in a straight path of war and life."

¹⁰ That is, may nothing intervene to prevent them from enjoying all the blessings they have received in our and life.

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THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

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Offering to the Moon.—"This we ask, grandmother, of you also. You added your power to (the other blessings) of grandfather Djöhenagjwi'xga and you said that as long as the world lasts you would willingly accept the offerings of tobacco that his posterity extended to you. Thus you yourself said, we are told. Here is the tobacco.

"As many of our clansmen as are here living in an abject condition (spiritually), may they all follow in the direct path of war. For that we are now extending to you tobacco, food, and moccasins. And may we in the future travel in the path of war and life."

Offering to the Water.—"You likewise, Chief of the Water, whose body is water, blessed grandfather Djöhenagjwi'xga. Here it is (the tobacco). If we poured tobacco into the fire, you said you would always smoke it, it is said. Food and buckskin for moccasins we are about to extend to you. War powers and life, that we ask from you in return, for you said that you would always accept (our offerings), we are told. When you blessed grandfather Djöhenagjwi'xga you said that we should pour tobacco for you at all times, it is said. Here it is.

"You would recognize the offering of tobacco and the tobacco with the food that we sent forth to you, you said, it is said. We desire war powers and life for our kinsmen."

Offering to North Wind.—"You likewise, Porcupine,"¹²⁰ told grandfather, 'For killing an enemy outright, I am useful, it is said. I am even the equal of the one who blows from the north!' Thus you told grandfather, it is said. When the proper time has arrived we should pour tobacco. Tobacco, here it is.

"Our first request is for war power and life."

Offering to the Pigeon-Hawk.—"Here is tobacco for you, too, Pigeon-Hawk. You blessed grandfather with war and life and it is said you told him that you would always give him what we asked of you."

Offering to Earthmaker.—"For Earthmaker, who is the foremost, you said we should pour tobacco, so for him we (pour) tobacco."¹²¹ A handful of tobacco we are about to offer to you (Earthmaker)."

Offering to the Thunderbird.—"To you, also, Thunderbird, I am about to pour tobacco. It will be one of the foremost offerings, you said, it is said. Tobacco we pour to you."

¹²⁰ Porcupine is also associated with the North Wind in the first division of the ceremony.

¹²¹ I. e., we even have the opportunity to offer him tobacco as if people like ourselves could ever obtain a blessing from so great a deity as Earthmaker! The order in which the offerings to the various spirits are made is rather peculiar, for that to Earthmaker should, I believe, come first. I suspect that my informant was probably in error in the arrangement given above, a fact easily explained when it is remembered that he tried to visualize a ceremony he had not given for some time.

539X
796X
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782

[25]

[NAME]

THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

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Offering to Big Black Hawk.—"To the Big Black Hawk we also offer a handful of tobacco." 539^x
796^x

Offering to Disease-giver.—"To you, grandfather Disease-giver, I also send tobacco." 776[●]
782

Offering to South Wind.—"To you, also, grandfather South Wind, I send tobacco. You would consider it foremost, you said, it is said."

Offering to the Sun.—"Here I place tobacco for you, too, grandfather Sun. A handful of tobacco here I place here for you."

NAME RITUAL

Host's first speech.—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you. The songs that the Night Spirits placed within the reach of grandfather Teiwot'e'higa,¹⁰⁰ those he tried to learn. He fasted and thirsted himself to death for the blessings our grandfathers (the Night Spirits) gave him (spread) over the length of the earth. Our grandfather Teiwot'e'higa said that he had come from somewhere in the east and that a Night Spirit chieftainess was his mother and that the son of the chief of the Thunderbirds was his father; that his parents lived beyond the confines of this earth.¹⁰¹ When he fasted to be blessed by (these spirits) over again,¹⁰² they blessed him. If at any time he should die he would be able to visit the earth again, he said, it is said.¹⁰³ The song he was taught, the Night Spirit song, that we will try to sing. Even if you know only one song, you will not bore them (the spirits) with it; for if you bring yourself to the state of weeping in your efforts, it will be (acceptable). If you do not put on any embellishments when you pray (literally, cry) for war and life (it will be acceptable), it is said. Thus we should say it." 539^x
796^x
787
776

"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

Host's second speech.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. When we finish (our part of the ceremony), may you help us by repeating the spirit songs your ancestors gave you to be handed down (from one generation to another). That we ask of you. Now we will start a dance song and when we are finished singing, our" 539^x
796^x
[424]

¹⁰⁰ Literal translation, "Kills within the lodge."

¹⁰¹ What Teiwot'e'higa means by saying that these spirits were his parents is that he is a reincarnated spirit that has chosen to be born of human parents. Such claims were by no means rare even in late Winnebago history and there is, as a matter of fact, a powerful shaman living in Winnebago now who claims that he is the reincarnated Hare (Wardling's).

¹⁰² Hares coming to the earth as a human being, he had of course been told that he would receive certain blessings, but nevertheless he had to fast for them just as a human being does. However, shamans who obtained their powers in this way were always supposed to obtain them more easily than other people. For an illustration of this of the account of a shaman's blessing in the "Reminiscences of a Winnebago Shaman" by myself in Amer. Jour. Folklore, XXVI, 1912.

¹⁰³ That is, become reincarnated.

[2285]

THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FRANTS

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annoyed it. Host, I greet you. You who are impersonating the spirits, all of you, do I greet." 537^x 796^x 782 [554]

THE THROWING OUT OF THE BUCKSKINS

Then the attendants give that war-bundle owner who is regarded as the foremost, as an expert, tobacco, for it is about time now that the various spirits should accept (the offerings).¹⁰⁰ Therefore they select a man who is proficient, one who has very likely been blessed by the Night Spirits and one therefore to whom they are likely to listen, a holy person, a man who has attained war honors. He is likely to be the best one to make the spirits cognizant of the buckskins. So they brought the drum for him to his place, and placed tobacco in his hand. Then he spoke as follows:

Speech of prominent guest.—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. You seated in this lodge who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good that the war-bundle owners have done so much for the host. He has brought us the means of blessing and caused us to come into this lodge and has fed us. He has permitted us to offer tobacco. It is good! Not insincerely should we speak on such an occasion, our father told us. If at any time the spirits pay any attention to a human being and permit him to offer them moccasins, rest assured that they will not let a weakling do this. If you are of any importance the spirits will accept the moccasins you have offered them. Indeed, my son, our grandfathers on both ends of the earth will have knowledge of these offerings,¹⁰¹ they told each other."

For the Night Spirits they sang and alternately they would start up a song for the Thunderbird as they sat there.

After finishing a Night Spirit song, then they would start up one for the Thunderbird, and then they would sing Night Spirit songs and Thunderbird songs together. "If at any time they consider you a man and accept the moccasins you have offered them, use your power. Above all, be careful that you do not say anything in a frivolous manner. The host putting himself in a pitiable condition has with copious dropping of tears besought the spirits for war power. For life he has also besought them and has prayed to them with offerings of tobacco, food, buckskins, and feathers. Putting himself in a pitiable condition he has hunted for the spirits,¹⁰² weakened himself through exposure to cold, and caused himself untold sufferings. Oh that I could have done similarly! It is for this (these laudable rea- [785])

¹⁰⁰ I. e., that the buckskins should be placed where the spirits can get them.

¹⁰¹ I. e., the Night Spirits living in the east and the Thunderbirds living in the west.

¹⁰² I. e., hunted the deer that are used at the feast both for eating and for the buckskin offerings. [776] ●

sides)

THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

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some) that they (the host and his band) have done this. Do not say anything frivolously, for the host has offered in your behalf tobacco and tears. Cry that you may obtain life, even as the host and his people have done. Act thus so that you may be of help to one another even as our ancestors of old were. If people act together they will accomplish their purpose. That is what they did in the beginning and that is why they lived like spirits at that time. They cried and made offerings of tobacco, grandfather said. For the Night Spirits shall you pour tobacco here. I send forth my greetings to you." (Terminal Night Spirit song.)

After they have finished the terminal Night Spirit song then (the host) gets ready to use the dance song, but (first) speaks as follows:

Speech of host.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. The dance song they are about to use and then they will get ready to throw out the offerings of buckskin to the spirits. Now let us put them above. This is what I wished to tell you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

The host and the others now take the buckskins and dance around the lodge four times.

When he (the host) starts the oldest men sing the dance songs. Then the feasters take the buckskin offerings down and all, one by one, dance around the lodge four times. An attendant precedes them carrying cedar incense and one follows them carrying the same. After they have made the circuit of the lodge for the third time, just before they begin the fourth circuit, those carrying the buckskin that is to be thrown out for Earthmaker and who march at the head of the procession, let the children, after they have smoked their hands, touch the buckskin. After that all touch it for (they believe) that if they touch this buckskin they will obtain long life thereby.

After they have made the fourth circuit they roll up the buckskins and throw them out through the top of the lodge. They hold tobacco in both hands when they do this and this tobacco they pour into the fire. Then all the feasters, those who had buckskins and the others who were within the lodge, the children, the women, indeed, all the people, rise and standing near their seats dance. Thus they did.

Before throwing the buckskins through the top of the lodge they would tell the people not to sleep, for otherwise some of the old Night Spirits who are about at the approach of day might strike them

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539X
[513
776]

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THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

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with their canes, and if they did this such a person would surely die.¹⁰ For that reason do they warn them not to sleep. However, as soon as the men have thrown the buckskins outside then any child who desires may sleep without danger.

After the song had been sung he (first guest) speaks as follows:

Speech of first guest.—"Host and members of his band who are seated here, I greet you. By coming in connection with the drum I and my relatives have been strengthened. It is good. To such an extent have we annoyed the drum. Host and members of his band who are seated here, I greet you. As many as there are (who are seated within the lodge) impersonating the spirits, I send forth my greetings to you."

Then the attendant takes the drum and places it in the middle of the lodge.

The host rises and speaks as follows:

Speech of host.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good. What I have longed for, that you have completed for me. All night have you prayed for me. It is good. Blessings did the spirits give your grandfathers. What you were to say to the spirits that they (your ancestors) told you and that you have repeated here all night. It is good. You weren't selfish in your actions. You wished to obtain something for all of us. It is good. I am thankful to you, for you must have inconvenienced yourselves greatly by sitting here all night and you must in addition have suffered from hunger. Now in addition to the kettle that has been placed in honor of those who live in the east, the Night Spirits, the last band to sing will also receive a head. A kettle is also to be placed in honor of the Earth."

Then he said that food was to be placed in honor of the Moon, as well as a kettle (for soup). Then they named a person to be in charge of a kettle in honor of the Water. Then they called upon one to take charge of the kettle in honor of the Eagle. Then they placed one in charge of the kettle for Porcupine. Then he (the host) spoke again.

Second speech of host.—"I realize that our grandfathers did not bless me much and that I have hardly enough food to go around, but we will nevertheless do it, for it is said that our grandfathers will not be insulted thereby, grandfather said. That is why we give this feast, however little it be that we obtain. And I am not the only one, for all my relatives are doing the best in their power that we may obtain (blessings). That is why we give this feast. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

¹⁰ They speak of the Night Spirits appearing toward dawn as old in reference to the gray light of morning which they compare to the white hair of an old person. For the same reason these old Night Spirits have names just as an old man has a name.

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796X
[513
776]

THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST OF THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN

(SECOND VERSION)

^x 716 Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: 'There were originally
614 four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most
713 powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his
[716] mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

^x 716
[604]

[574
281]

[586]

^x 716
782
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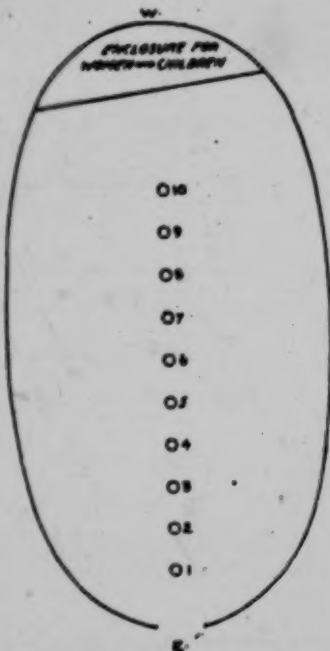


FIG. 30. Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for down-giver. 3, Buckskin for thunderbird. 4, Buckskin for water-spirit. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for birds.

^x 716 not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buck-
782 skins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whomever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. [572] When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial
776 fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

* This is a generalized account.

X796
[276] When the songs of the Night Spirit are sung the stem of the pipe is pointed eastward.

[783]
824] Four songs are sung before the cooking is finished, in honor of the Thunderbird. The feast is then spread, and all those in the lodge smoke and dance. The attendants take the kettles down and take the food out. While the kettles are still on, however, branches of cedar are carried around the lodge to purify it. Before distributing the food, while the singing is still going on, the attendants count the number of people in the lodge and cut the meat into a corresponding number of pieces. As each kettle is supposed to suffice for any one band, a number of small sticks about the size of a toothpick, corresponding to the number of people present in each band, is placed in each kettle. After the last four songs are used the host arises and calls for the kettle that is to be given to the person opposite him. The attendant brings it and tells him how many pieces of meat there are in the kettle. The host then speaks about his intentions in offering the kettle to the spirits; that he is seeking life and victory in war, and that he begs all those present to intercede for him. He then calls for the other kettles. There are generally one or two kettles for the women and children. When the feast is spread out and they all have their food, the host tells them that they may now eat whenever they think proper. He himself does not eat anything, but merely sings, shaking the gourds that he holds in his hand.

[504]
[776]
[783]
[824]
[776]
[576] The Disease-giver is considered the most sacred of all the spirits, and for that reason all the bones and the plates that have been used in connection with his particular kettle are purified with cedar branches. The host carries these bones out of the lodge himself and buries them under the foot of some tree. He also takes tobacco and red feathers along with him on this occasion. As the other spirits are not considered to be as sacred as the Disease-giver, the bones from the kettles offered to them can be buried anywhere, provided the ground has been purified.

After the first invited guest has finished his meal he rises and thanks the host. He then tells the story of how he, or his ancestor, obtained the war bundle, and assures the host that he feels confident that so great a feast as this in which he is taking part will most certainly be recognized by the spirits. He also adds that inasmuch as he and the other invited guests have partaken of this feast they also hope to receive life and strength in proportion to the blessings bestowed upon the host. The other invited guests, in turn, speak in the same way.

[783] While this is going on the attendants are preparing the kettles for another lot of meat. The whole tent is swept again and purified and the kettles are once more placed upon the fireplaces. The host now rises and, holding tobacco in his hand, informs each spirit of the par-

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ticular kettle assigned to him. Then he pours out tobacco. Now one of the attendants goes around the lodge and scatters small swan feathers in every direction, even putting some near the kettles.

The host then prepares to sing night songs, but before doing so he takes down the buckskin assigned to the Nights, blackens his face with the ember used for marking that buckskin, and puts swan feathers upon his head. It is said that those who during their fasting time visited the land of the Night Spirits saw swan feathers scattered all over the land, and that is why they use them now. The host now has the pipe turned toward the east and before singing the night songs tells the origin of these songs. He asks all the other invited guests present to help him with his songs and apologizes for asking so much of them. He now uses two sets of songs. When the dancing songs are sung all the men who so desire may come around the war bundle and dance, and some may even dance near the places where they sit. When he has finished his songs he passes the drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco to the invited guest opposite him. This one now arises, pours out tobacco, and tells the origin of his particular war bundle and sings the night song connected with it for the benefit of the host. He then repeats the same actions that the host has done. The drum, etc., are now passed to the next man, and so on until daylight. Some one especially selected is given the honor of singing those songs that are connected with the taking down of the buckskins, and when this one starts his song all the invited guests in whose honor kettles have been put on the fireplace take down their buckskins and, holding them in their hands, walk around the lodge four times. An attendant precedes them, walking backward and purifying the path. The buckskin with the cross marked on it is generally carried first. The fourth time they make the circuit all those in the lodge first hold their hands over the cedar incense and then touch the buckskin, because Earthmaker is going to use it for moccasins, so that, by touching it, they might become strengthened. After they had made the circuit for the fourth time they rolled up the buckskins and throw them through the openings in the roof of the lodge, so that the spirits for whom they were intended might receive them.

After the buckskins have been thrown out tobacco is poured into the fireplace and all the people take their places and dance. When the drum has made the entire circuit of the lodge—that is, when it has again returned to the host—the latter rises and sings the so-called paint songs. A short time before that a number of kettles had been put on the fireplace for the so-called lower spirits. The host then declares that the feast is ready and that whenever they wish to the guests may begin to eat. The rites of the preceding feast are now repeated. Toward the end of the feast the host takes his bundle,

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"And thou, grandfather, Earthmaker, I offer tobacco to you. I offer tobacco to you. It was you who made the tobacco, yet we were told that even you cannot take it from us unless we offer it to you willingly, because you obtained it thus. I offer tobacco to you, that I may become a warrior and have long life. This I ask of you. A white-furred animal, a deer, with its hide, the buckskin, and its meat as food, do I offer to you together with tobacco. The hide you may use for moccasins. Here it is.

"And you, Big Black Hawk, you who are in charge of war weapons, I offer tobacco to you, that my prowess as a warrior, if I be blessed with any, may be great and audacious. Even if it is only a single enemy (that I encounter), may I be the victor. May we go through battle without injury. A kettle containing half of a deer, with its hide for moccasins, we offer to you. Here it is. Tobacco we offer to you. Here it is.

"You who live in the place of the setting of the sun, Thunder-chief, tobacco I offer to you. When my grandfather made his war bundle you added your power; and whatever knowledge of warcraft you possessed you taught him. For that we now ask you. One of our members* whom we freed like a baby, we offer to you together with tobacco. Here it is.

"You who live in the east, who walk in darkness, tobacco we offer to you. When our grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, made the spirit bundle you added your war power. We ask that when we take this bundle up we may be able to gain victory without any effort on our part. This we ask of you. As our children become big enough to go on the warpath may you see to it, in your mysterious manner, that we have war. We offer you tobacco and also a kettle containing a female deer with hide for moccasins. These we offer you. Here it is.

"You who live in the south, you who give us sickness, to that part of your body which contains life, we offer tobacco. In the bundle that our grandfather made you added your war power. That power we now ask of you. In the middle of the day you blessed our grandfather. That blessing we ask of you again. One of our members who wears a headdress,* do we offer to you, and likewise a deer skin for moccasins. All these together with tobacco we offer you. Here it is.

"To you, grandfather, the Sun, I offer tobacco. You blessed my grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, with your power when he made his war bundle. The blessing that you gave him, that do I ask of you. Let that be your first gift. May we have victory in war: and in the presence of the weapons of our enemies, make us safe. If there be any men (enemies) to whom death has been ordained, may we be

* He is referring to the dogs eaten at this feast.

* I. e., a deer.

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the ones who will be the victors. It is said of you that even if a prayer be offered to you in silence, along with the tobacco, you will hear it. Here we offer you tobacco, deer for food, and buckskin for moccasins. This, grandfather, is our prayer and our offering.

"To you, grandmother, the Moon, do we offer tobacco. We desire to have victory in battle. The blessings you bestowed upon our grandfather, Kille-Within-Lodge, when you blessed him with the powers of a warrior, those give to us now. The blessings that were not fulfilled by him (that is, all those blessings that death prevented him from using) we ask that they may be fulfilled by us. Tobacco and deer for food and buckskin, all these we offer to you. Here it is. Here it is.

"To you, Morning Star, do we offer tobacco. When my grandfather was blessed with your power, while he was making his war bundle, he was to give you tobacco for smoking and food at mid-night. That is what we are trying to do, although we are lacking in all the essentials necessary for success. However, we wish to be prepared in times of trouble and that is why we ask, grandfather, that we be blessed with life. A kettle with tobacco, enough buckskin for moccasins, and tobacco we offer to you.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, do we offer tobacco also. We pray for victory in war and for all the medicines that are necessary to obtain it, so that we may bind ourselves with medicine: that we may use the flowers of the earth for paint—all that is red and all that is blue—this we ask of you. Should there be anything better, we ask that you arrange it so that we obtain it. Tobacco and corn for food do we offer to you, and should you need more tobacco we will send it along. Here it is.

"To you, Eagle Chief, you who blessed our grandfather with power to conquer in war while he was making his bundle of spirit-power, do we offer tobacco. For all that he told us to retain and which he said was powerful in the bundle, I am making this feast. I am trying to-night to make a feast in honor of the spirits. To you and to the hawk I offer this kettle."

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All the kettles which are to be used at this feast have by this time been put on. The nephews act as attendants and place the kettles on the fireplaces. Those spirits for whom no kettles are placed on the fire receive tobacco as an offering. After the host has offered tobacco to those latter spirits, he returns to his place and sits down. Then the war-bundle owners to whom tobacco had been given get up in turn and with one hand pour tobacco into the fire and with the other upon the war bundle. The host then rises and speaks as follows:

"Sons of war, and you who stand in the footsteps of the spirits, all you who are in this lodge, I greet you. We are boiling hot water for

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"Sons of war, I greet you."

After these songs are sung the host speaks again.

"Sons of war, I greet you. We will sing the dancing songs. If anyone cares to dance he may do so. They say that through dancing, also, we may obtain victory in war. Therefore you women may dance and help your brothers. Dancing also is a means of obtaining life. We will now sing about four songs if we can remember them."

When the songs are over the leader says:

"Warriors, I greet you. We will sing another lot of songs and then we will have our feast. This lot of songs was sung by our grandfather, who obtained victory with them, so he asked them to his humble. So we are told. These songs can also be sung by watchmen in the camp, or on the warpath, or before the rush for the enemy, as well as while crossing rivers and in scouting. We will now try to sing them. Warriors all, who are seated here, I greet you."

The host then sings the slow songs and then the dancing songs. Then he continues:

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"Warriors, I greet you. The next four songs we sing will be for all the spirits for whom we have placed these kettles of tobacco and buckskin for moccasins. The first kettle over the first fireplace is a big deer head, which our chief will partake of. This kettle is in honor of Earthmaker. The kettle will be placed for our chief. We know that he has been attentive to the spirits and that he has the right to forbid us to do wrong.

"The next kettle will be put on in honor of the war spirits who live in the place of the setting of the sun. It will be placed before the Thunderbird clan people. It is our desire that the spirits remember us for these our offerings. For that reason we will turn over to them a kettle with tobacco and enough buckskin for moccasins.

"The kettle on the second fireplace we intend to offer to the war spirit, the Big Black Hawk. Together with the kettle, we are offering tobacco and buckskin. It will be placed before Strikes-the-Tree. He understands this affair better than we do. He understands what our intentions toward the spirits are and he can therefore best make them understand us. Another kettle on the same fireplace we intend for the sun. We have already made known our intentions to him by offerings of tobacco and buckskin. That kettle will be placed for our grandfather, who understands and can perform these things better than we can.

"On the third fireplace there is a kettle for our grandmother who comes up after the dark the Moon. That will be placed before my nephew. He knows how to take care of a war bundle. That we wish should be made known to the moon he will make it known, as he knows how to do it.

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"The next kettle is in honor of the Morning Star. We offer tobacco, buckskin, and food to him. This kettle is to be placed before my uncle, as he knows how to make offerings to spirits better than we do. All that we wish is that the spirits should know that we have done this; and he understands how to make this known to the spirits. Warriors, I greet you. The kettles have now all been put on by the attendants and we offer to you all that they can hold. It will be lacking in every way, but, warriors, you understand how to divide it. Knowing this, we know that you will all get some. Whenever you get ready you can start eating. In the meantime we will sing."

After singing four songs these present partake of the feast. When the feast is over, the guest who received the first kettle rises and speaks:

"Elders and you who are mere participants, who have partaken of our feast, and you warriors, I greet. It is truly good. Who would not say it is good? Relatives, a lesson this has been to me, the fact that I have been invited. It is indeed a real pleasure for me to be here, but I have been accorded an even greater honor in that I have been given a kettle, and especially that it should be just that kettle that we offer to the greatest spirit, Earthmaker. For him have I eaten and for him have I smoked the tobacco that was offered. We will be strengthened by the blessing that it brings us. All our relatives that had anything to do with this offering will be strengthened. How can the spirits help recognizing such an offering? It is said that if we wish anything of the spirits and we offer tobacco to them they would accept and recognize it. Surely such an offering as this (in which we have participated) will be received by the spirits, and accordingly they will bless our host with victory, just as he has wished it. I am thankful that I had something to do with it. I consider that my life has been renewed. I therefore greet him, Earthmaker, and I greet the host and the warriors who are representing the spirits. I greet them all."

Then the guest who had received the second kettle rises and speaks: "Hosts and relatives who are sitting around me, I greet you all. It is good. Who would not say that it is good? I do not intend this as mere imitation of the preceding speaker, but my grandfather taught me to be thankful at all times for such an affair as this. I did not gain honor in war, and (for my presence here) I am consequently all the more thankful. It is good. He has honored me together with the spirits when he offered to them tobacco, buckskin, and food and when he asked them for victory and life. How could such a one go unblest? Do not the spirits even know our thoughts? I thank all the relatives that have partaken of this spirit food, through which they will be strengthened. Again I say, it is good. In my

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thoughts I greet you, feasters. Spirits of war, elders, warriors, I greet you."

Then the third speaker rises and speaks:

"Elders and relatives, I greet you. Warriors within this lodge, I greet you also. It is good. Who would not say it is good? Many times have they done this to us in the past. They understand and know how to make examples for us to follow. They have made offerings of tobacco, of food, and buckskin for moccasins to all the spirits. They have gathered us together and given us places of honor that we may obtain life thereby. They have given us spirit-food to eat in the presence of our relatives. The blessings they receive will also strengthen us in life. With these thoughts we have partaken of the feast. While boiling the water, the attendants have burned their hands, and surely they will for this reason take part in war, with honor. It is good that it is thus. What spirit could overlook such an offering? It must surely be known to them. Again I say it is good. You feasters, host, and warriors, I greet you all."

Then the fourth speaker rises and speaks:

"Elders and relatives, I greet you. Host and feasters, I greet you. It is good, the previous speakers have told me. Most certainly it is good. The chiefs have up to now asked blessings for the Winnebago fireplaces. Our host has also made offerings to all the spirits and asked victory and life for our women and children. I hope we minor ones will also receive blessings. A spirit named Kill-Within-Lodge came upon earth in the flesh and caused this (feast) to be made, and to this day it is so. It is good. With war he was blessed, we all have heard it told. It is good that we have partaken of this food, for we have been told that all must partaken in feasts/strengthens us with spirit blessings. I want to thank all of the relatives and feasters who are here, and for that reason I am speaking. Feasters, I greet you all; I greet you all."

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Then he speaks again:

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"It is good, my relatives, that the spirits have been given offerings of food, tobacco to light their pipes, and buckskin to use for moccasins. Now it is the midnight of the spirits, and we have all heard that at this time they turn over in their beds in spirit land, and whoever offers tobacco to them now can be assured that they will smoke it. For this reason the people have added food and moccasins. They will surely bless them with the victory and life for which they have asked. We believe that those who have partaken of the feast will be blessed, for it is said that the spirits even know our thoughts. This is what I think. I am sure I have been strengthened by it. Feasters, I greet you all. You likewise, Grandmother Moon, I greet."

The kettles are now put on again.

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Now the host speaks again:

"Warriors, I greet you. It is good that you have told me another my wishes and spoken about the things that are usually discussed at this ceremony. I say again that it is good to hear such words from you. We are making you suffer, but the attendants are putting on the kettles again. I will therefore give all the spirits for whom kettles have been prepared smoking material again. I greet you all."

Then he begins to pour out tobacco for the spirits. As often as he calls upon a spirit as often does he pour tobacco into the fire, saying as follows in each case:

"Here it is, the tobacco, grandfather, who are in the middle of the lodge. We have been told that you said you were the mediator between (the spirits and human beings). It is said that if we place on your head tobacco for the spirits you would see to it that our offering had not been made in vain. So I pour tobacco for you. Here it is."

"To you, in the South, the Discans-giver, grandfather, I offer tobacco. A four-legged animal,* one of our own members, we have put in the kettle for you. Tobacco, food, feathers, and buckskin we offer you. You blessed our grandfather and met him in the middle of the day. With the blessing with which you blessed him do you now bless us. This we ask of you—that fever (discan) may not come upon us, and that we may have victory and life. This we ask of you because you claim that you are in charge of those things. Grandfather, in return for all the things that we ask you, we offer tobacco for your pipe. The same we offer to your grandfathers, those under the light, those who walk in darkness.* My grandfather you blessed. The things that you taught him we ask for. Our offerings are poorly given, and not of the best kind, but it is said that your feelings can not be hurt since you permitted our grandfather to enter your spirit-home. We pour tobacco for you, Nights, that victory may come our way, and that you might walk faster so that day may come to us sooner. Men's tobacco, food, and buckskin we offer you. Here it is."

"Morning Star, tobacco we offer you, with buckskin and food. When our grandfather made a bundle of spirit-powers, you added your blessing of warrior prowess. That is what I ask of you—that we may have victory whenever we meet the enemy. It is said that if we wait till then we might not receive your blessing. That is why we ask it now. We pour tobacco for you."

"To you, the chief of the Eagles, I offer tobacco. In our grandfather's fasting you blessed him with victory in war. That which he

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would have used were he alive do I ask of you. And if we take the feathers that are in this war bundle on the warpath, may it so happen that even if we see only one enemy we may be the ones to have the war honor. This is what we ask of you and for this we offer tobacco to you.

"To you, Hare, do we offer tobacco. Here it is. The blessing you bestowed on our grandfather, that we ask of you, the so-called nephew. Victory in war and life we ask, should we ever go on the warpath; that we may conquer without effort and that we may be safe in the midst of the weapons of our enemies.

"To you, the Turtle, we offer tobacco. Here it is. Men's tobacco we offer you that you may fill your pipe. Our offerings are lacking in every respect, for we have no kettle for you. But we can not offend you, it is said. You have, in truth, power in war and that is why we ask you for victory in war. Grandfather, we offer you tobacco.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, do we offer tobacco. We offer you men's tobacco. We ask victory in war from you. When our grandfather made a bundle of spirit-power, you added your power. For that reason we have been keeping tobacco for you. Here it is. Grandmother, we offer tobacco to you.

"To all those who have blessed our grandfather with spirit-power—for we do not know you all—we offer tobacco to those on earth and to those above. It is our desire that you bless us with the blessings you conferred upon our grandfather. Grandfather, warriors, I greet you all. I am sorry that I have been boring you with my talk; and that I have perhaps made you smoke too much. But we wish to obtain victory and life, and it is said that patience gains both of these. Knowing this, you have faithfully sat through this whole ceremony. I thank you, and yet I must ask more of you. I must ask that the drum and songs be sent around the lodge as soon as I get through singing. As the Nights go around the earth at night so will the drum go around this lodge. I will now use the songs of the Nights, that is what I mean. Warriors, I greet you."

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After singing slow songs he sings dancing songs, and then he speaks again:

"Warriors, I greet you. As I said before, you may sing the songs of the Nights. Your songs are certainly more spirit-like, and they have the power of obtaining life. I now send the drum to you."

Then the attendants take the drum, together with some tobacco, and carry it across the lodge, to a place opposite the hear, and place it in front of one of the guests belonging to another clan. He also puts some tobacco in the hands of this person. Then the one about to sing rises and speaks as follows:

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O warriors, the food will be lacking in every respect, but try, nevertheless, to have it pass around.

"We also have a kettle on the fireplace for the Nights, which the attendants will put on in honor of the father of my wife and my own father. We offer, likewise, tobacco and deer skin along with this kettle, to the Night Spirits, so that we may obtain victory and life. That is what we wish. As I said before, I will not have any too much food for you. But they say the spirits are merciful.

"To the Morning Star we will also offer a kettle. We will have it put on for Ku'nu, as he understands these affairs better than we do and knows better than we how to ask the spirits for blessings. We offer, in addition to the kettle, tobacco and buckskin, asking victory and life from the spirits in return. As I said before, warriors, our grandfather never failed, when he had this bundle. That is why we have kettles put on the fire in honor of it.

"To our fourth brother we will offer another kettle, in honor of the chief of the Eagles, praying for life and victory. Warriors who are seated here, I greet you all. Whenever you get ready to eat you may do so, and we will, during that time, sing some of our songs."

Then they sing Earthmaker songs. These songs were songs that a certain person called Wegi'ceka obtained in his blessings from all the spirits, but they were taught to him by Earthmaker. [787]

After Wegi'ceka had been blessed by all the spirits there was just one lacking, and that was Earthmaker. So he fasted more and more, almost to the point of death, crying and longing for a blessing from Earthmaker. Finally he was told that he was to be blessed by him. At the appointed place and time a being wearing dark clothes and carrying a cane that looked fear-inspiring stood before him, like the blue of the sky. "Wegi'ceka," he said, "I bless you. You have inflicted suffering upon yourself and have hungered and thirsted on my account. With everything that I possess do I bless you; with victory and with the power to heal the sick, with riches and with good fortune as a hunter, and even with the power of having women become enamored of you—with all these things I bless you." Then he turned and walked away and Wegi'ceka saw that it was a bluejay. He felt very much humbled and so he fasted again. Four times was he treated thus. Finally he even sacrificed one of his own children, and then he was told that at a certain time and place, about the hour of noon, he would meet Earthmaker. When he came there some one said, "Wegi'ceka, I bless you. You have humbled yourself and cried unto me. I bless you. Heretofore I have blessed nobody. You are the first one." Thus he spoke, and he gave him the cane and four songs. These are the songs which we use at the end of our feast.

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After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhj'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

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Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting; and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

[774]
They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*nayj'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

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The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

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meaning of "blue-back," it has been interpreted as "first," from *iconi*. In the same way *degoni* has been interpreted as *re* "to go" and *honi*, "to hunt"; and *holcangwa* has been subjected to a multitude of interpretations. This folk-etymology not only overrides the grammatical peculiarities of Winnebago, but even makes faulty compounds conform to the Winnebago principles of grammar. Inquiry into the origin of the clan names will, for these various reasons, have to be regarded as one of the most unprofitable of investigations. 614 551 174

Attitude Toward Clan Animals.

We mentioned before that when the animal names became associated with the social groups, they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude the Winnebago exhibit toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian spirit became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group. 614 776 825

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit complex may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus symbol. [174] [784] [787]

The attitude toward the clan animal is characteristically different in this respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself, as contrasted with the "spirit,"

614 As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunder-
 776 bird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear
 825 who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan
 [421] symbol and used as a property mark, and he is brought in intimate
 contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the animal. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way. The blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is a sort of clan protector.

174 In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent:
 614 first, the possibility of the "spirit" nature of the guardian
 776 spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration of the religious
 825 societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; and, secondly, that under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as it is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except, first, that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of the esoteric societies, and secondly, that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

Relationship to Clan Animals.

174 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the
 614 consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual
 825 to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a

as follows, 'My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease.' Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit, they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick, they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well."

Here the Bear clan behaves at the same time like a ceremonial organization associated with shamanistic practices and like an individual shaman. That, to the minds of the Winnebago, this ceremonial function of the Bear clan on this occasion was regarded as a real ceremony is indicated by the term *many pe waci*. For the moment, the Bear clan as a social unit is entirely lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is the Bear clan as such a unit around which the ceremony has crystallized. This case is all the more instructive for the very reason that this ceremonial association does not form an inextricable element in the clan complex, but is merely an aspect that it assumes on certain occasions, to the exclusion of its socio-political nature. The ceremonial function of the clan is, therefore, not as firmly fixed as is the political function. This may merely be an expression of the fact that among the Winnebago it had become customary to associate ceremonial functions with religious societies.

With regard to the analogy with the individual shaman, it might be said that treating a social unit like an individual must have been quite common wherever the former was strongly marked off by specific functions such as the Bear clan. The association of the shamanistic function with this clan may have occurred just because of the police functions the clan already possessed. On the other hand, it might be pointed out that the bear, both black and grizzly, was intimately

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associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture—there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example

114 people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family.
 796 It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle ceremony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Tca-tea-he-de-gu* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago.
 [795] Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwaukee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was
 [778] specially invited to attend.
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As Mr. White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the ceremony. [574] Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

796 The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds, who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is [776] held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winnebago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly constructed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, [614] or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling-lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

[252] The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

§1. *Early Childhood*

Father and mother had four children and after I was born. An uncle of my mother named White Cloud spoke to her before I was born and told her, "You are about to give birth to a child who will not be an ordinary individual." These were the words he addressed to her. It was then that my mother gave birth to me. As soon as I was born, indeed as I was being washed—as my neck was being washed—I laughed out loudly. [159*] [55] [787] [844]

I have been told¹ that I was a good-tempered child.

During childhood my father told me to fast and I obeyed him. Throughout the winter, every morning, I would get up very early, crush charcoal, and then blacken my face with it. As soon as the sun rose would I go outside and there gazing steadily at the sun, make my prayer to the spirits, crying.² [787]

¹ Whenever the writer refers to events that happened before his time or before he could remember things, he always uses the quotative, "It is said." [114] [195]

² This refers to the custom of fasting of which many examples will be found later on. Among the Winnebago and many culturally related tribes, every person, male and female, was expected, between the ages of five and twelve, to seek communion with some supernatural spirit and the spirit so obtained was supposed to grant the suppliant certain powers and in general preside over his destinies throughout life. The proper manner of approaching this ordeal was to blacken one's face with charcoal and retire at night to some semi-deserted place at some distance from the house and there pray. [196]

My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud

dances of a lively kind. From that place we went up to where Earthmaker lives and I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too and, indeed, I was like one of them. 159*
[175]
[176] ●

Thence I came to this earth for the third time and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

Thus my brother-in-law had lived long ago, had joined the Medicine Dance* and adhered strictly to its precepts. He was a good man; he disliked no one; he never stole and never did he fight. He made offerings of tobacco to the spirits and was always giving feasts. He could always be relied upon. 159*
[171]
[182]

When Thunder Cloud was in spirit land, just before he was to come to this earth, he fasted. He only ate once a month. All the different spirits who live on high, all those who live under the earth, indeed all those whom Earthmaker had created, they all blessed him. Then he came to the earth and was born here as a human being again. When he came to the earth he fasted. All the various spirits who had blessed him before, now blessed him again. Thus did he become a holy man. When he came here, he became a shaman for he was very holy. Indeed he was the North Spirit. 156
[175]
[176]

*The Medicine Dance is a secret society which with the preliminary ceremonies lasts five days. Members of this society are supposed to possess the secret of being able to kill one another and then to restore one another to life again. The "killing" is done by "shooting" a shell from a pouch made out of an otter skin. The shell is supposed to enter the body of the person shot at and to render him unconscious. He regains consciousness gradually after spitting out the shell. The ceremony is described in detail on pp. 103 ff. of this autobiography. [175]
[189]

Crashing Thunder

*159 755 [182] Once when I was sick he¹ treated me. As soon as he came my father arose with tobacco in his hands and made him an offering, greeting him as follows:

"My son-in-law, tobacco do I offer you and I make offerings to your spirits. You have made your hat become holy, for the various spirits made it sacred. I greet you."

*159 755 [182] Before treating me Thunder Cloud told of his fasting experience:

At the very beginning those above taught me the following. All the various spirits who live up above in the clouds, in a doctor's village, came after me and instructed me in what I was to do. They taught me and told me the following. "Here let us try it," they said to me. There in the middle of the lodge lay a rotten log, almost entirely covered with weeds. They tried to make me treat this log. I breathed upon it and all those who were in this spirit lodge also breathed upon it. Then for the second time I breathed upon it and they with me. Then for the third and the fourth time I did it. After the fourth time the rotten log arose and walked away. Then the spirits said to me, "Human being, very holy indeed are you."

There from the middle of the ocean, from the shaman's village, they came after me. They blessed me, all the spirits in the middle of the ocean. They made me try my power. As many waves as exist, all of them as large as the ocean, upon these they asked me to blow; and as I blew upon them everything became as quiet as the water in a small saucer. So they became. Then I blew for the

[195] * Symbolical expression for the various objects and blessings bestowed upon him by the spirits.

[8]

¹ [i.e., his brother-in-law Thunder Cloud who was a shaman--analyst]

My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud

third time and it was the same. The fourth time the spirits made the ocean very choppy and the waves were piled, one upon the other. Then they told me to blow again and show my power. I blew, and the ocean, mighty indeed as it was, became very quiet again. "Now this, human being, is what you will have to do," they said to me. "Not anything will there be that you cannot accomplish. Whatever be the illness a person may have, you will be able to cure him."

All the spirits on the earth blessed me. "If any human being who is suffering from pain, makes an offering of tobacco to you, then whatever you demand, that we will do for you," the spirits told me. [159* 755 787 756]

Now at Blue Clay Bank (St. Paul) there lives one who is a dancing grizzly-bear spirit. Whenever I am in great trouble I was to pour tobacco, as much as I thought necessary, and he would help me. This grizzly bear gave me songs and the power of beholding a holy thing; he gave me his claws, claws that are holy. Then the grizzly bear danced and performed while he danced. He tore his abdomen open and, making himself holy, healed himself again. This he repeated. One grizzly bear shot claws at the other and the wounded one became badly choked with blood. Then both made themselves holy again and cured themselves. They had a front paw disappear in the earth and after a while pulled out a prairie turnip. Finally they grabbed hold of a small plum tree, breathed upon it, and shook it, and many plums began to fall. [782] • [776]

This was only the first part of the treatment. [159* 755 782]

After recounting his fasting experience Thunder Cloud addressed the spirits and said, "Spirits, here is a person who is sick and who offers tobacco to me. I

Crashing Thunder

* 159 am on earth to accept it; to try and cure him." He
755 then turned to me and said, "You will live, so help
782 yourself as much as you can. Try to make yourself
strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits
you must listen and if you know that I am telling the
truth, you will be strengthened thereby."

Then he prayed to the spirits:

The Prayers to the Spirits

* 159 Here, O Fire, is the tobacco for you. You promised that
755 if I offered you some, you would grant me whatever re-
782 quest I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as
796 you told me to do when I fasted for four days and you
539 blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being
who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and
I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within
four days.

To you too, O Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person is ill
and is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore
him to health. So add that power which I obtained from
you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your
spirits after me. They took me to your lodge which lies
in the center of the earth and which is absolutely white.
There you blessed me, you Buffaloes of four different
colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then,
I am now in need of. The power of breathing with which
you blessed me, I am now in need of. Add your power
to mine as you promised.

To you, Grizzly Bear, I also offer tobacco. At a place
called Pointed Hill there lives a spirit who is in charge of
a ceremonial lodge, and to this all the other grizzly bears

My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud

belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomsoever I wished and that I would be able to restore any person to life. Now I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The powers with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco that the people are offering you, grandfathers.

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To you, O Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient; you told me that I could use the water of the ocean and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life. As I wish him to live I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore do I offer you tobacco. Here it is.

To you, O Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman's lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted for seven days, you who carried my spirit to your home, to the home of birds of prey, to you I offer tobacco. You blessed me and you told me that should, at any time, human beings suffer from pain I would be able to drive it out of them. You gave me the name of *He-who-drives-out-pain*. Now I have before me a patient with a bad pain and I wish to drive it out of him. This the spirit told me I would have the power to do, when they blessed me before I was reborn. Here is tobacco.

To you, O Rattlesnake, you who are perfectly white,

Crashing Thunder

* 159 you who are in charge of the snake lodge, to you I pray.
755 You blessed me with rattles to wrap around my gourd;
782 you told me after I had fasted for four days that you
● 776 would help me. You said that I would never fail in any-
539 thing I attempted. So now when I offer you tobacco and
shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life be
opened out before him. That is what you promised to
me, grandfather.

O Night Spirits, you also, I greet. You blessed me after
I had fasted for nine days. You took my spirit to your
village lying in the east, and there you gave me your
flutes. You told me they were holy. My flute likewise
you made holy. For your flutes I now ask you, since you
know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has
come to me and has asked me to cure him. I want him to
live and so I am speaking to you. You promised to accept
my tobacco at all times. Here it is.

To you, too, O Disease-Giver, I offer tobacco. After I
had fasted for two days you informed me that you were
the one who gave disease; that if I desired to heal any one
it would be easy to do so if I were blessed by you. So,
Disease-Giver, I am offering tobacco to you and I ask that
this sick person who has come to me, be restored to health
again.

To you, O Sun, I offer tobacco. Here it is. You blessed
me after I had fasted for five days and you told me you
would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult
to do. Now, some one is here who has pleaded for life.
He has brought good offerings of tobacco to me, because
he knows that you have blessed me.

To you, grandmother Earth, I also offer tobacco. You
blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed
you. You said that I could use all the best herbs that

My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud

You said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect cures with them. I beseech you for those herbs now and I ask you to help me to cure this sick man.

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Then Thunder Cloud breathed upon me and squirted some water on my chest. "What I have said is very true and very holy, I believe," he said. "Indeed now you will get well."

Thunder Cloud knew all the good medicines that exist and he used them in order to heal me and so that I might recover from my illness. I got well. Indeed Thunder Cloud was holy.

Thunder Cloud was also what we call a poisoner. He used to travel at dead of night, it was said. One night at about eleven o'clock he got ready to poison a family by the name of B. We were all listening, sitting in our lodge. Then outside we heard him make some noise. We were afraid of him because we knew he was a poisoner. Indeed he claimed to be in control of our household. My family would do nothing without first consulting him, for we were afraid of him. We believed that he had come from the spirits, that he was a reincarnated man and, if displeased, would poison us. So whatever he asked we did.

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He had been married to my eldest sister and after her death wished to marry the second sister. Where he had come from at the dwelling-place of Earth-maker,* my elder sister was now staying, he said. But now he claimed that the second sister resembled the

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* Circumlocution for saying that she was dead.

Crashing Thunder

*159 first. "She must be the one I left behind when I came
756 from my spirit home," he thought. So up above, to
Earthmaker's village, he went to see whether his first
*159 wife was still there. He found her there. "How is
756 this? I thought I saw you among the human beings
775 and that is why I have come to see if you were still
787 here," he said. And the woman answering said, "Why,
where was I to go? Here you left me when you went
away and here I have remained up to the present time.
What kind of woman is she who resembles me?
Bring her up here to me." Thus my dead sister spoke.

[754] However since he was a bad shaman, a poisoner, we
let him marry the second sister. We were afraid that
if we didn't he would poison us.

*159 He told my brother that he had come from the place
756 where Earthmaker* lives, that Earthmaker had told
him that he was to bring back with him four men.
● [776] He was to examine them carefully, for they were to
[787] be virtuous men, not quick tempered nor of change-
[577] able ideas, but really virtuous, men of conservative
tendencies. Such was he to take back with him.

*159 My brother loved Thunder Cloud for these reasons.
Never did he show any disrespect to him. Whatever he
was asked to do he did. Zealously and painstakingly
did he perform all the actions demanded, for he hoped
that if, in return, our brother-in-law loved him and
blessed him, he would take him back to Earthmaker.
Wholeheartedly did he wish to be like him. This was
always in his mind and he served him to the best of

[776] * Earthmaker is the supreme deity of the Winnebago.

Crashing Thunder

There my elder

* 159 brother and myself were to pass the night. It was
787 said that if any one fasted at such a place for four
nights, he would be blessed with victory and the power
to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

We were told the following would happen to us. On
the first night we would imagine ourselves surrounded
by spirits whose whisperings we would hear outside of
the lodge. The spirits would even whistle. I was told
that I would be frightened and nervous and that if I
[176] still remained there, I would be molested by large mon-
sters, fearful to look upon. Even the bravest man
might well be frightened. Should I, however, manage
to get through that night I would then on the following
night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speak-
[175] ing outside. These ghosts would say things that might
well cause me to run away. Towards morning I was
told these ghosts would even take my blanket away
from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me
out of the lodge and not stop until the sun rose. If I
[176] was able to endure a third night, then I would be ad-
dressed by the true spirits. They would bless me and
say, "We bless you. We had really intended to turn
you over to the monsters and bad spirits and that is
why these approached you first, but you overcame
them and now they will not be able to take you away.
Now you may go home for we bless you with victory

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[819] individual esteemed for his bravery. The power of this war-bundle
[841] was such that it would kill anything or anybody who approached
[562] it, the only exception being a menstruating woman. For this reason
the war-bundle was always carefully guarded and protected and
women were not allowed to see it or come anywhere near it.

Fasting

and long life; we bless you with the power of healing the sick. Nor shall you lack wealth. So go home and eat, for a large war-party is soon to fall upon you. As soon as the sun rises the war whoops will be given so that if you do not go home now you will be killed." 159* 787

Thus the spirits would speak to me. I was told that if I did not care to do the bidding of one particular spirit, then some other would address me and repeat very much the same thing. So the spirits would speak alternately until the break of day. Then, just before sunrise, a man wearing a warrior's costume, would come and peep into the lodge. He would be a scout. I was told that when this happened, then I would surely believe that a war-party had come upon me. Soon another spirit would come and say, "Grandson, I have taken pity upon you and I will bless you with all the good things that the earth holds. Go home now for a war-party is about to rush upon you." If then I went home the war-whoops would be given just as the sun rose. The members of this war party would give the whoop all at the same time. They would rush upon me and capture me and after *coup* had been counted upon me (i.e., after I had been struck) they would say, "Now, grandson, we have acted thus in order to teach you. Thus shall you act. You have completed your fasting."

Thus would the spirits talk to me, I was told. Now this war-party was really composed of spirits, spirits from the heaven and the earth. Indeed all the spirits that exist would be there. These would all bless me. [196]

Crashing Thunder

* 159 I was also told that it would be a very difficult thing
787 to obtain this particular blessing.

So there I fasted at the black-hawk's nest, where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when something would happen. But nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and then taking out a gourd, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing except my breech-clout and, holding tobacco in each hand, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

My father sang war-bundle songs and wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits.

[551] When he was finished he told me some sacred stories; he told me about my ancestor Weshgishega:

The Story of My Ancestor Weshgishega

* 159 When Weshgishega was growing up his father coaxed
787 him to fast. He told him that when Earthmaker had
539 created the various spirits, all the good ones he had created,
776 were placed in charge of something. The gift of bestow-
ing upon man life and victory in war he gave to some;
to others, the gift of hunting-powers. Whatever powers
the Indians needed in order to live, these he placed in the
hands of various spirits. These blessings Weshgishega's
father told Weshgishega to attempt to obtain from the
spirits.

Thus Weshgishega fasted and tried to obtain something

Fasting

from the spirits. But as he fasted he kept thinking to himself, "Long ago Earthmaker created all the different spirits and he put every one of them in control of something, so people say. He himself must therefore be much more powerful than all the others. As holy as these spirits are, so assuredly, Earthmaker must be mightier, holier." So he thought. He tried to be blessed by Earthmaker. He thought to himself, "What kind of being is he?" As he fasted Weshgishega thought to himself, "Not even any of the spirits whom Earthmaker created has really known Earthmaker as he actually is; not one of the spirits has he even blessed. I wonder, however, whether Earthmaker would bless me? This is what I am thinking of." So he put himself into a most pitiable condition and uttered his cry to the spirits. He could not stop. "From Earthmaker do I wish to obtain knowledge. If he does not bless me during my fasting I shall assuredly die." So, to the utmost of his power, did he fast. He wished to be blessed only by Earthmaker.

At first he fasted four days; then six; then eight; then ten and finally twelve days. After that he broke his fast. Yet it was quite clear that he had obtained no knowledge, quite clear that he had not been blessed. So he gave up his fasting and when he reached the age of early manhood he married.

He took his wife, and the two of them moved to an out-of-the-way place. There they lived, he and his wife.

Here again he commenced to fast, his wife with him. He wished to be blessed by Earthmaker. This time he felt that most assuredly would he die if Earthmaker did not appear before him in his fasting. "Never has it been told that such a thing could happen, that Earthmaker would bless any one. Yet I shall continue even if I have to die."

Crashing Thunder

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After a while a child was born to him. It was a boy. He addressed his wife and asked her advice, saying that they ought to sacrifice their child to Earthmaker. She consented. To Earthmaker therefore they prepared to sacrifice their child. They constructed a platform and placed their child upon it.¹¹ Then both of them wept bitterly. In the nighttime when the man slept, Earthmaker took pity on him and appeared to him. The man looked at him. He thought, "This, most certainly, is Earthmaker." He wore a soldier's uniform and carried a high cocked hat on his head. He had a very pleasing appearance. Weshgishega looked at him and wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. The figure took one step, then another, and finally disappeared, uttering a cry. It was not Earthmaker; it was a pigeon. The bad spirits were fooling Weshgishega.

Now even more than before did his heart ache, even more than before was his heart wound up in the desire to be blessed by Earthmaker. Now again he fasted and again apparently Earthmaker appeared to him. "Human being, I bless you. Long have you made your cry for a blessing. I am Earthmaker." When Weshgishega looked at him, he saw that he was pleasing in appearance. He looked very handsome and his dress was nice to look upon. He wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. As he looked at the figure it became smaller and smaller and when finally he looked, he noticed that it was a bird.

Then his heart ached even more than before. Bitterly did he cry. Now, for the third time, Earthmaker blessed him saying, "Human being, you have tried to be blessed by Earthmaker and you have caused yourself great suf-

[769]
[614]

¹¹ That is, they killed the child and then placed his body upon a platform, this being the customary mode of burial of the clan to which Weshgishega belonged.

Fasting

fering. I am Earthmaker and I bless you. You will never be in want of anything; you will be able to understand the languages of your neighbors; you will have a long life; indeed, with everything do I bless you." But, from the very first, this figure did not inspire Weshgishega with confidence and he thought to himself, "Somebody must be fooling me." And so it was; it was a bird. 159*
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Then most assuredly did he think that he wished to die for he felt that all the bad birds in the world were trying to make fun of him.

Earthmaker, above where he sits, knew of all this. He heard the man's voice and he said, "O Weshgishega, you are crying. I shall come to the earth for you. Your father has told me all." Then when Weshgishega looked, he saw a ray of light extending very distinctly from the sky down to the earth. To the camp it extended. "Weshgishega, you said that you wanted to see me. That, however, cannot be. But I am the ray of light. You have seen me."

Not with any war powers did Earthmaker bless him; only with life.

After telling me about Weshgishega, father left me. When I found myself alone I began to think that something ought to happen soon, yet nothing occurred so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done on the night before. He told me about my grandfather Jobenangiwinxga: 159*
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[551]

My Ancestor Jobenangiwinxga

Once Jobenangiwinxga fasted. So that he might be blessed by the spirits he starved and thirsted himself to 159*
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787
[785]

Crashing Thunder

* 159 death; he made himself pitiable in their sight. At first
539 he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him;
787 with mighty sounds they came. There they stood before
him and said, "Human being, you have thirsted yourself to
death and we are going to bless you for that reason. We
who speak are the Night Spirits." They blessed him with
life and with success on the warpath. Then he looked
at them and said to himself, "I wonder whether these really
are the Night Spirits speaking to me?" Then he looked at
them and he saw that they were small birds called heshepga.
They had fooled him.

[785] Then once again was his heart sore. In despair he said,
"Well, if I have to, I'll die fasting." So he fasted again
and once again he rubbed charcoal on his face. For six
nights he continued to fast. And then, once again, from
the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a
great noise and they stood near him and said, "Human being,
we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you
have made your heart sore. We feel sad on your account.
With life and success on the warpath we bless you."
Then he looked at them and again he wondered in his
heart whether they really were the Night Spirits.¹³ Indeed
they were not the Night Spirits who were speaking to him.
They were birds called the kawishge, choxjin and shikokkok.
They were fooling him. Instead of feeling sad this time,
however, he said, "I don't care what happens; I am willing
to die in order to get a blessing." So he thought to himself.

Then again he began fasting. He rubbed charcoal over

● [776] ¹³ The Night Spirits were mythical spirits whose precise nature
is never described in detail. They are supposed to cause darkness
and the night. They possess a cane with which they strike those
of their worshippers who are not properly attentive to their cere-
monies.

Fasting

his face again. Seven nights he fasted and once again from the east the Night Spirits came singing. They came and stood before him and said, "Nephew, we bless you. So long have you been sad and so piteously have you cried to us that we bless you. No one did we ever bless before. Both in war and in life you shall be able to do as you wish." Then again he looked in their direction and thought to himself, "I wonder whether those speaking are really the Night Spirits?" But indeed they were not the Night Spirits. They were the bluebird and the duck and as many as there were of them, their breasts were dark; as many as there were of them, they were bad. "O my! O my! How they abuse me," Jobenangiwinxga cried.

He had at first thought in his fastings that just to spite the spirits he would fast again but now he rubbed charcoal on his face and wept bitterly. Both hands contained tobacco, and he stood in the direction from which the Night Spirits came and, weeping, put himself in the most abject condition.

Now indeed to its very depths did his heart ache. Ten nights did he fast. Finally the Night Spirits came after him. "Human being, I have come after you." He followed the spirits and they took him to the east; to the site of a Night Spirit village they took him. In the village there was a long lodge standing in the east. There they took him. All the Night Spirits in control of the most powerful blessings were there. When he entered he had to wade through white feathers up to his knees. Many kettles and much food did he see in the lodge. On the outside a buffalo hide was stretched almost across the entire lodge. Then these spirits said to him, "Human being, without giving up, long have you suffered; your heart has indeed been sad. All of the spirits in this lodge have talked about what is to

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Crashing Thunder

* 159 happen to you. I, myself, am the chief of the Night Spirits.
539 This creation lodge, just as you see it, with all that it con-
787 tains, I give to you. Never shall you be in want of food.
796 Offer up to us as many buckskins as you see here in the
lodge. Thus it shall be. The creation lodge of the village
of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many
war-parties as you wish and you will obtain everything that
you demand of life. All the offerings of tobacco, of food,
[782] of buckskins, and of red feathers that you and your de-
scendants offer to us, they all will come here to our creation
lodge and we will accept them."

Now thus did the Night Spirits speak to grandfather
Jobenangiwinxga.

* 159 In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry
787 to the spirits:
[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching
you."

The fourth night found me still there. Again my
father came and we did the same thing, but in spite of
it all I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day
dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother
[577] that I had been blessed by the spirits and that I was
going home to eat. I was not speaking the truth. I
was hungry and I also knew that on the following night
we were going to have a feast, and that we would have
to utter our cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that.
So I went home. When I got there I told my people
the story I had told my brother; that I had been
blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was
not speaking the truth, yet I was given the food that is
carefully prepared for those who have been blessed.

Fasting

Just then my older brother came home and they ob- 159*
jected to his return for he had not been blessed. How- 787
ever, he took some food and ate it.

My brother J., however, obtained a blessing. When 159*
he reached the age of puberty my father called him 785
aside and told him to fast. He told him that it was 554
his fervent wish that he should begin to fast in order 787
to become holy, to become invincible and invulnerable
in war. He wished him to become like one of those
Winnebago of whom stories are told. He assured him
that if he fasted he would really be holy and that
nothing that exists on this earth would be able to molest
him; that he would live a very long life and that he
would be able to cure the sick. He told him that if he
were blessed no one would dare to make fun of him [576]
and that they would be very careful how they addressed
him; first, because they really respected him and sec-
ondly, because they were afraid of getting him angry.
He was to fast until spring and then he was to stop,
for there are many bad spirits about in the spring who
are likely to deceive a faster. [776]

Near our village there was a hill called *Place-where-
they-keep-weapons*. This hill was very high, steep and [778]
rocky. It was a very holy place. There it was that
my father wished my brother to fast for it was the
place where he himself had fasted. Within this hill
lived the spirits whom we call *Those-who-cry-like-* [776]
babies. These spirits are supposed to possess arrows
and bows. Twenty of them were supposed to be in
this hill. My father had control of them and when 000

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My father had control of them and when he wished to bless a man he would take his bow and arrows and, holding them in his hands, lead the man around the hill and into the lodge (i.e., into the hill). There he would look for a stone pillar, and upon it, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of a number of different animals. My father possessed only one arrow, but that one was a holy one. Then dancing around the stone pillar and singing some songs, he finished by breathing upon the pillar. Finally he walked around and shot at it and when he looked at the stone, it had turned into a deer with large horns which fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times. The little spirits living in the hill breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done, and offer us tobacco and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

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This was the power my father wished my brother to obtain. My father was a very famous hunter and my brother wished to be like him.

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Now of all these things my brother dreamed; with all these powers he was blessed. He also had a vision of visiting the village of the ghosts. There he was able to steal a costly shawl and escape with it. He dreamed that all the inhabitants of the ghost village chased him but that they were unable to overtake him and were compelled to return back when my brother reached the earth.

The night after we had stopped fasting we gave our feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for

§5. *Names*

Whenever they think highly of any individual in a family they give him the means for obtaining a happy life. If the older people think highly of any one they prearrange the kind of life he is to lead afterwards. With this object in view, my uncles told my brother the story of how human beings first came into this world, the story of the origin of our clan.

The Story of the Origin of Our Clan

Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to consciousness. Nothing was to be found anywhere. He began to think of what he was to do and finally he cried. Tears flowed from his eyes and fell below where he was sitting. After a while he looked below and saw something bright. The bright objects were tears, of which he had not been aware and, which falling below, had formed the present waters. They became the seas of to-day.

Then Earthmaker began to think again. He thought, "Thus it is whenever I wish anything. Everything will become as I wish it just as my tears have become the water of the seas." So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for, come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for this earth and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked at the earth and

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539 he liked it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do
614 the waves of the seas. Then he made the trees and he saw
776 that they were good. But even these did not make the earth
quiet. Then he made the grass grow and still the earth was
not quiet. It was however almost quiet. Then he created
[823] the four cardinal points and the four winds. At the four
corners of the earth he placed them as four great and pow-
erful spirits, to act as weights holding down this island
earth of ours. Yet still the earth was not quiet. Then he
made four large beings and threw them down toward the
earth and they were pierced through the earth with their
heads eastward. They were really snake-beings. Then it
was that the earth became still and quiet. Now he looked
upon the earth and he liked it.

Again he thought of how things came into existence just
as he desired. Then it was that he first spoke and said,
"As everything happens just as I wish it, I shall make a
man like myself in appearance." So he took a piece of
earth and made it like himself. Then he talked to what
he had created but it did not answer. He looked at it and
he saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind
for it. Again he talked to it but it did not answer. So
he looked at it again and he saw that it had no tongue.
Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again but
it did not answer. So he looked at it and he saw that it
had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again
and then it very nearly said something but could not make
itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth
and talked to it and it answered.

As the newly created being was very much like Earth-
maker in appearance, he felt quite proud of him, so he
made three more exactly similar. He made them powerful
so that they might watch over the earth. These four he

Names

made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. Then he thought, "I will have some beings live on the earth." So he made four more like himself. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—*Kunuga*, *Hcnuga*, *Hagaga* and *Nan-giga*. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth." So saying he opened the heavens in the place where they were standing and there they saw this earth spread out before them. He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send down with you," he added giving them a plant. "Even I shall never have the power of taking this away from you, for I have given it to you exclusively; but when, of your own free will, you make me an offering of some of it, I shall be glad to accept it and give you in return whatever you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." What he had given them was the tobacco-plant. Then again he spoke and said, "All the spirits that I have created will not be able to take this away from you unless you desire to give it to them, by calling upon them during fasts. Thus only can the spirits get some. And another thing I send with you that you may use it in life, to be a mediator between you and us, whenever you offer anything to the spirits. It shall take care of you throughout life, stand in the center of your dwellings, and be your grandfather." This was the Fire. 539
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Then the four Thunderbirds brought the brothers down to the earth. On their journey down *Kunuga*, the oldest of the four, said, "Brother, when we get to earth and the first child is born to me, I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunderbirds*, if he is a boy." On and on they came, down toward the earth. As they got near the earth it began to get very dark and then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl, I shall call her *Dark*." Then they came to a place called [182]
[276]
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Within-lake at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay (Wisconsin). On an oak tree south of the lake is the place where they alighted. The branch on which they alighted was bent down by their weight. Then spoke the third brother, "Brother, the first daughter born to me I shall call *She-who-weighs-the-tree-down*." Then they alighted on the earth. Then said the fourth brother, "Brother, the first son born to me I shall call *He-who-alights-on-the-earth*." Then the brothers alighted on the earth. But the thunder-birds did not touch the earth. The first thing the brothers did on earth was to start fire.

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Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food, so he created animals that they might have something to eat. The oldest brother suddenly said, "What are we going to eat?" Thereupon the youngest two took a bow and arrow Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Shortly after, the third brother came into sight with a young deer on his back and then the youngest appeared with a two years' old deer. The two deer killed and those who had killed them, were brothers.

The men were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then they said, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." So saying they cut off the ends of the tongues, cut out the heart and together with some fat, threw both into the fire.

The first people to call on them were the Warrior clan people. Then came those from the west, four of them, the Pigeon clan people. Then came those of the earth, the Deer people, the Snake people, the Elk people, the Bear people, the Fish people, the Waterspirit people and all the other clans that exist among the Winnebago.

Names

Finally there appeared on the lake a very white bird, the swan. After that all the other birds in the world appeared. They were named in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the meat and one of the brothers asked, "What is that?" Then said *Kunuga* the eldest, "It is a wasp and the first black dog that I possess, I shall call *Wasp*." "Just as the wasp scented and became aware of the deer meat as it was being dressed, so shall the dog be toward other animals. Whenever an animal is on the windward the dog will scent it," *Kunuga* continued.

Then they made a feast for Earthmaker with the deer meat, threw tobacco into the fire and gave some to him. They showed the other clans how to make fire and gave a little to each adding, "Each of you must now learn how to make fire for yourselves for we shall not always lend you some." Here then it was that the first people who lived made their homes. They had come at the time of the year when the grass grows as far as the knee.

One day it was reported that a very strange object was nearing the camp. The men thought at first that they would leave it alone. It came nearer and nearer and as it moved toward the camp it began to eat the bones it found there. They allowed this animal to become the founder of one of their clans and took it to their homes. It was the dog. Then they killed one of these dogs and offered it up to Earthmaker telling him all they had done.

In the beginning the Thunderbird clansmen were as powerful as the Thunderbird spirits themselves. It was they who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering about the earth they struck the earth with their clubs and

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776 thus created dents in the hills. That is why the Thunderbird clansmen are the chiefs. The Dog-clan people are the least in importance.

One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again. He did not breathe and his body became cold. "What is the matter with our oldest brother?" the other three said. Four days they waited for him but he did not get up. They tried to find out from one another what the trouble was but did not succeed. Then they began to mourn for him not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces as we do now when we are mourning. They made a burial platform and placed him upon it. When the snow fell and it was knee-deep then, filling their pipe, the three brothers walked in the direction of the coming of daylight. They came to the first spirit Earthmaker had placed in the east, the *Island Weight* as he was called. Weeping they entered his lodge and extended the stem of their pipe toward him and spoke, "Grandfather, our brother *Kunuga* has fallen down and is not able to rise again. Earthmaker made you great and endowed you with all knowledge so that you know all things. Tell us what has happened to our brother?" Then he answered, "My grandsons, I am indeed sorry but I know nothing about this. Since, however, you have started on this quest you had better go to the one ahead of me, the north *Island Weight*. Perhaps he can tell you."

So weeping they started for the next one. When they got there and told him their troubles he told them he could not help and referred them to his third brother in the west. Thus in turn they were referred to the last of the *Island Weights*, the one in the south. There they found all four of the *Island Weights* assembled and the south one answered and spoke, "Grandsons, thus Earthmaker has

Names

willed it. Your brother will never rise again. He will be with you no more on this world and so it will be with human beings as long as the world exists. Whenever a person reaches the age of death, he will die. Those that wish to live long will have to attain old age through good actions. Thus only will they succeed in living long. Into your bodies Earthmaker has placed a part of himself and that will return to him if you do the proper things. This world will at sometime come to an end. Your brother is to keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan and there he is going to be in complete charge. When this world comes to an end then your brother will take all the souls back to Earthmaker—at least all those who have acted properly.” Then the Thunderbird clansmen thanked the four spirits and left the lodge.

When they got home they took their brother's body, dressed him in his best clothes and painted his face. Then they addressed the dead person and told him where he was to go. They buried him with his war club, his head toward the west. At the grave they placed the branch of a tree and to this branch they tied a small red stick in order to prevent anything from crossing his path, in his journey to spirit-land. He was told that if any animal crossed his path or was found on his path during the journey, he was to strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those of his relatives whom he had left behind on earth might derive blessings for the warpath, and attain long life. He must take his pipe and his food along with him. Whatever years he was deprived of when he died, all the victories he might have gained had he lived to a normal old age, all these he was to bestow upon his relatives. The wealth he might have gained, in fact anything he could possibly have obtained, all this he was asked to

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● give to his relatives. Then they would not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

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553 Now in our clan whenever a child was to be named it was my father who did it. That right he now transmitted to my brother.

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551 Earthmaker, in the beginning, sent four men from above and when they came to this earth everything that happened to them was utilized in making proper names. This is what our father told us. As they had come from above so from that fact has originated a name *Comes-from-above*; and since they came like spirits we have a name *Spirit-man*. When they came, there was a drizzling rain and hence the names *Walking-in-mist*, *Comes-in-mist*, *Drizzling-rain*. It is said that when they came to *Within-lake* they alighted upon a small shrub and hence the name *Bends-the-shrub*; and since they alighted on an oak tree, the name *Oak-tree*. Since our ancestors came with the thunderbirds we have a name *Thunderbird* and since these are the animals who cause thunder, we have the name *He-who-thunders*. Similarly we have *Walks-with-a-mighty-tread*, *Shakes-the-earth-down-with-his-force*, *Comes-with-wind-and-hail*, *Flashes-in-every-direction*, *Only-a-flash-of-lightning*, *Streak-of-lightning*, *Walks-in-the-clouds*, *He-who-has-long-wings*, *Strikes-the-tree*.

Now the thunderbirds come with terrible thunder-crashes. Everything on the earth, animals, plants, everything, is deluged with rain. Terrible thunder-crashes resound everywhere. From all this a name is derived and that is my name—*Crashing Thunder*.

[P. 40]

§7. *The Teachings of My Father*

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My father used to keep up the old habit of teaching us the customs of the Winnebago. He would wake us up early in the morning and, seated around the fire-place, speak to us. The girls would be taught separately. Now this is what my father told me:

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My son, when you grow up, see to it that you are of some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which you can aid them and that is by fasting. Our grandfather, the Fire, he who stands at all times in the center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings. Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his.

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My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the war chiefs,¹⁴ bless you. See to it that they have compassion upon you. Then some day as you travel along the road of life, you will know what to do and encounter no obstacles. Without any effort will you then be able to gain the prize you desire. The honor will be yours to glory in, yours without exertion. All the disposable war-blessings belong to our grandfathers, the war-controllers, and if reverently you fast and thirst yourself to death, then these will be bestowed upon you. Yet if you do not wear out your feet in frequent journeyings to and fro, if you do not blacken your face with charcoal, it will be all for naught that you

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¹⁴ Symbolical name for all those spirits who were supposed to be in control of war powers.

The Teachings of My Father

inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. Whatever he says will come about. If you do not possess one of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, you will be of no consequence socially and those around you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at you. 159* 776 867 787 781 [626]

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life, warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they distribute the war prizes to their sisters,¹⁸ your own sisters will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be content and happy. 159* 867 761 785 787 [593] [727]

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to 000

¹⁸ Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first. [562] [721]

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* 701 Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to
 * 159 be a leader of men. To become one, however, is very
 867 difficult, the old people used to say. It may happen that
 787 you merely pretend to be a leader of men, that you are but
 [686] a mere warrior in the ranks and yet take it upon yourself to
 lead a war-party and thus cause a needless waste of life,
 that you do what is called "throwing away a life." That
 is the most shameful of all acts. The relatives of the person
 [627] whom you have thus sacrificed would then have the right
 to make you suffer, to torture you with burning embers.
 And then your relatives would have to stand by, sad and
 humiliated. Not with the blessing of one, not with the
 blessings of twenty spirits, can you go on the warpath.
 * 159 For that the blessings of all the spirits are necessary—those
 867 on this earth, those under it and those who lie pinned
 • 776 through it, the Island Weights; those in the waters and
 787 those on the side of the earth, the winds, all four of them.
 You need the blessings of the spirit who dispenses life from
 one side of his body and death from the other, the bless-
 ings of the Sun, the Moon, the Daylight, and the Earth.
 All these Earthmaker has made controllers of war and by
 all these must you be blessed in order to lead a war-party.
 * 787 My son, if you cast off your dress for many people, that
 * 159 is, if you give to the needy, your people will be benefited
 867 by your deeds. It is good thus to be honored by many
 [735] people. And even more will they honor you if you return
 [554] victorious from the warpath with one of the four limbs, that
 is, one of the four war honors. But if you obtain two, or
 three, or perhaps even four limbs, then all the greater will
 be the honor. Then whenever a war feast is given you will
 receive part of the deer that is boiled, either part of its
 body or part of the head.¹⁰ When on some other occasion,

¹⁰ The meat of a deer at such a feast is given only to great war-
 riors. The head is regarded as the choicest piece.

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* 159 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food
867 you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these
785 things then some day when your children ask for food they
787 will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without diffi-
culty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose
meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children
from ever going hungry.

* 159 Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse
867 your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife
593 suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother
[562] Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing
[776] her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother
if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care
of us, by your action you will be practically killing your-
self.

* 159 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters
867 your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little
574 you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of
death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving
food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one
may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing
through your country and you want to see him, prepare
food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner
you will be doing good and it is always good to do good,
[577] it is said.

* 159 If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have
867 anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him
888 there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary
remarks about you.¹⁸ You will be strengthened
thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with
[778] him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher-

[574] ¹⁸ It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire any-
[576] thing in the house he is visiting.

The Teachings of My Father

ishes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing evil will enter your house. neither bad spirits, ghosts, disease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen.

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all these he created and placed in control of powers. Even the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he placed us in control of. He further told us that none of the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

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Crashing Thunder

* 159 ease from out the body, people will greatly respect you.
756 If then you happen to be without work, all that you need
787 for your support they will give you. For as long a time as
867 you live they will do this for you. After your death people
will speak about your deeds for all time. During your life-
time they will say, "Yes, he really has power."

778 If you are not able to fast, do at least try to obtain some
824 power from those individuals who know the virtues and
powers of certain plants. It is sad enough, of course, if
you will have to admit to yourself that you could not obtain
blessings during fasting; but if you could not, at least try
to have those who possess the plants I have mentioned, take
pity on you. If they take pity on you, they will present
you with one of the good plants that give life to man.
Now it will not suffice for you to possess merely one plant.
You should try to obtain all those plants that grow among
the hairy covering of our grandmother, the Earth—all those
that give us life—until you have a complete medicine
bundle. Then will you truly have reason to feel encouraged.

Some of the medicine men, the shamans, were blessed
by the waterspirits.¹⁰ If you wish to obtain really powerful
blessings and gain the power of curing many people, you
will have to fast a long time and sincerely. If four, or
say ten, of the truly powerful spirits bless you, then some
day when you have children and anything happens to one
of them, you will not have to look around for a medicine
man, but all you will have to do will be to look into your
own medicine bundle. Search there and you will undoubt-

10 Waterspirits are mythical animals generally described as having
the shape of a lynx or wild-cat and provided with long tails that
completely encircle their bodies. Their gifts to man are ambivalent
and it depends upon the man whether he cares to make good or
bad medicines from their bodies. Their so-called "bones" generally
consist of semi- or completely fossilized objects.

Crashing Thunder

* 159 Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you
 787 would have to put yourself in the most abject condition
 789 before the spirits. If you smear yourself with your paint
 867 medicine it will irresistibly attract the enemy; it will
 paralyze him, deprive him of all power of movement and
 utterly overpower him. Keep it in your home and then
 you will never be in want of riches. People will give you
 their most valued possessions owing to the influence of this
 paint medicine. The paint medicine is made from the
 blood of the waterspirits and that is why it is so holy.
 [776] People obtain it by fasting and thirsting themselves to
 death and then receiving a blessing from the waterspirit.
 Earthmaker placed the waterspirits in possession of these
 powers so that they could then, in turn, bestow them
 on us.

* 159 Some people succeeded in obtaining a medicine that will
 789 enable a person to outdistance another in running. It might
 754 perhaps be well for you to learn something about this.
 867 There are medicines to be used in courting; medicines to
 prevent married people from separating; medicines for get-
 ting rich; medicines for causing people to become crazy.
 Should you, for instance, wish to make a person feel very
 sad at heart, then you can poison him with this last-named
 medicine and even make him crazy. It is also possible to
 make a woman who has refused you become a harlot, for
 this medicine will make her fall in love with every man
 she sees. Indeed any kind of medicine you desire can you
 obtain from certain individuals. Some are acquainted with
 medicines that put one to sleep, others with those that keep
 one awake and give one insomnia. Some have medicines
 enabling one to overcome the viciousness of dogs who are
 put to watch over women; others again have medicines
 that make people single out the possessor in a crowd.
 Every one will look at him and consider him a great man.

Crashing Thunder

*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.

517 For the good you do people will love you.

867 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you
are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with
luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have
plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a
happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago
preach to a child we love so that it should never become
acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do
anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does any-
thing wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the
consequences of his actions.

III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
867 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as
562 time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
593 They always preached against those men who hearken too
strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of
women. Now it may happen that a man has received many
warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays
no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is
asked to attend a war-bundle feast ²⁰ he will refuse to go;
it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

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[916] ²⁰ The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winne-
bago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-
bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each
clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan.
The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in
honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

The Teachings of My Father

of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

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§9. *My Brother-in-Law's Fasting Experience*

* 159 Just about this time we moved to the hunting-grounds
787 and I began to fast again. I began to take sweat baths
783 and caused myself to vomit in order to be purged. My
[827] father was a good hunter; he was always able to kill
many deer and occasionally a bear.

My brother-in-law thought a good deal of me. He was a holy man and a shaman. One day he said to me, "Brother-in-law, I am going to bless you although you will have to fast for it. I was once blessed by four spirits, brothers, called *Good giant-cannibals*. They said that they had never before blessed any one. They promised me that if I ever got into any difficulties they would help me. They blessed me with long life. Now this blessing I will give you. If, for four nights, you fast without a break, these giants will speak to you." Thus he spoke to me. Then he continued, "These four brothers are called *Good-giant, Good-heart, Good-as-he-walks-about, Good-where-he-lifts-his-foot-from*. They lived toward the east, where you will find a promontory. Nothing across the large body of water is too difficult for them to accomplish."

[180] So when I fasted I always offered tobacco to these
[216] spirits first. I would cry to these spirits, but I never fasted over night.

Crashing Thunder

* 159 and they are all sitting here prepared to pray to all the
196 various spirits. Long before, when in their visions they
537 were vouchsafed a warpath, the soul of the man they were
126 to kill would be already in their possession when they per-
formed this ceremony. It is to attract his soul that this
ceremony is performed. You are going to have a good and
prosperous warpath. When you are actually in the midst
of the warpath and are about to rush upon the enemy, pour
tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war, say,

[78] "Thus, grandfathers, were we accustomed to offer tobacco
to you." Although you may not know by any word or
direct sign whether the war-controllers have answered you,
you will know it as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes
place, for although you walk where the bullets rain hardest
you will pass out of their range and come through in safety.
Then when you return to your people every one will rush
out to bestow the war honors upon you. If you give this
sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco
and food, then the various spirits, especially the Thunder-
birds who are the greatest war-controllers, will bless you
for the excellent way in which you prayed to him. When-
ever they pass your way they will remember you. They
will even call you by name and say, "Let us smoke here."

[782]
• [796] This is the way in which young men are encouraged to
act, but only a few succeed. It is good. The host has
preached to us and pleaded for all those who are present.
He has made offerings of food to our grandfathers who
live in the west; pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin
has he sent to them. I have been permitted to impersonate
this great spirit and have thus obtained life for myself and
my unimportant clansmen, for all of us who have been liv-
ing in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt our-
selves connected through your actions. We have felt our-

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537 but to all those present. In the olden days the old people used to say to the young boys, "You are not able to fast as yet and to offer up proper food to the spirits so as to clear-away the weapons held against you." Now just as these older people would have liked, so you are doing. Even I, who am of no consequence, have nevertheless been permitted to impersonate a great spirit. This you have done for me—allowed me to impersonate that spirit¹ who is the bravest of them all, the one who is in control of power whereby an enemy can be killed outright! One side of this spirit's body controls life and the other death. Now they are about to offer to this spirit, the food of a white animal, of a male animal, the dog, as well as a white buck-skin, feathers and tobacco—all of them objects that please him very much. To Disease-Giver they are about to extend these things so that therewith they may ask him for war power and life. It is an awe-inspiring spirit to whom they have been making offerings. Surely I, who have been listening only by virtue of the host's generosity, do not have to say anything in his behalf. He thought of his ancestor when he asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the spirits his is the name which one cannot speak lightly, it is said. If nevertheless I greet his name and speak about this spirit, may I not be weakened by uttering it. Those who are about to offer you food, grandfather Disease-Giver, send you their greetings. To you, O host, do I send my greetings, as well as to all the war-bundle owners seated here.

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726 The feasters sang dancing songs throughout all this time. At dawn we were to pass the deerskin offerings through the roof of the lodge. My older brother took the lead. I followed and the others came up behind

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^ [i.e., Disease Giver -- Analyst]

A War-Bundle Feast

me. We all had a deerskin apiece. Only those who were giving the feast had the right to hold one of the ten deerskins. A man playing a flute taken from a war-bundle marched ahead, and behind came the people carrying the incense of the burning cedar leaves. We thus marched around the lodge and my brother and I again made our cry to the spirits. At that time we were naked apart from our breech-clouts and moccasins. Four times did we make the circuit. Then we passed the deerskins up through the roof of the lodge.

Now the feasters were to eat again. A separate kettle had been put on for us boys and we were to eat first. They then called upon a man to eat out of our plate with us. His name was *Blue-sitter*. He was a holy man, a shaman, a brave man, one who had obtained many war honors. Four deer ribs were dished out to me in a wooden bowl. Then the one who was to eat out of my plate came and sat near my dish and began to handle the food. He tore it into small pieces and began telling me of the blessing he had received from the spirits. He told me how all the great spirits had blessed him—the Sun, the Moon, the Thunder-birds, the Earth, the Sky, the Daylight, and all the spirits that exist in the heavens. The spirits on the earth and those under the waters, all these talked to him, he said. While partaking of my food he would think of this power, he told me. I would go through battle unharmed and I was to obtain war honors. My children, if I had any, were to enjoy a good and happy life. Thus he spoke.

[85]

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*159 just like the former one. Point the stem of your pipe
 764 toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke your
 775 pipe. Then make your request—that you be permitted to
 537 pass—and he will grant it. As you continue you will come
 to a round lodge where you will find an old woman. Point
 your pipe at her and she will permit you to go ahead. Your
 hair will now have become white but you will not be uncon-
 scious. On the contrary you will be in complete possession
 of your senses. Then you will come to the place where he
 who is in control of all the souls sits. Go toward him and
 point your pipe at him. When he is smoking it ask him
 • [776] to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will
 point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come
 to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of
 your pipe toward him and if he takes it and smokes it
 you must say, "Earthmaker, our father, you know very well
 what kind of a life I have led." Then he will answer, "My
 son, you have done well."

x 159 After this speech the body was dressed by the per-
 764 son who was to do the actual burying. The best clothes
 [267] of the deceased were put on, beads placed around his
 [301] neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings on his fingers and
 earrings in his ears. It was then placed in the casket.

[267] When the grave-diggers completed their work, the
 mourners blackened their faces with charcoal and the
 corpse was taken up by the man to whom this duty
 was assigned. The mourners followed behind weeping.
 Thus they proceeded to the grave. When they got
 there the corpse was immediately placed in it. Then
 the chief mourner stepped across the center of the
 grave and the others did the same. When they started

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had a far more exalted idea of the shooting. "Why, it amounts to nothing," I thought. "I have been deceived. They only do this to make money." I also thought then that many of the sacred things about which they had spoken to me were not true either. However I kept on and did as I was told for I had been taught to deceive in the ceremony in the brush. As soon as I was proficient in the act of feigning death, we started back to the main lodge.

The older people told me that I would become like them in body as soon as I became a member of the lodge, but I did not experience any change within me. All that I felt was that I had become a deceiver in one of Earthmaker's creations.

During the day, at the regular meeting, I did as I had been taught. Many speeches and many songs were sung and then, at about ten o'clock, the leader of the north band arose and told the story of the origin of the world and of the Medicine Dance.

The Story of the Origin of the World

What it was our father sat on when he came to consciousness we do not know. His tears flowed and he began to cry. Not long was he sunk in thought. He saw nothing and nothing was there anywhere. He took something from the thing on which he was lying and out of it made a portion of our earth. This he sent to the space below him and from where he lay he could see that what he had created had become similar in shape to our earth. Yet nothing grew upon it and it was entirely without a cover-

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776 ing. It was not quiet and kept spinning around continually.

Suddenly he thought, "Now if I do the following it will stop." So he made a covering of hair for it. He took something that was like a weed and made grass, and this he sent earthward. Then again he looked at what he had created. It was not quiet but kept spinning around and around. Then he thought to himself, "Well, I must try another way." He took a tree and sent it earthward and again looked at his creation but it was still spinning around and around. Then he made four men and these he sent to the earth, placing one in the east, one in the north, one in the west, and one in the south. Again he looked at his creation. It was still spinning around and around. "Perhaps it will become quiet in the following way," he thought. So he made four beings that we call the *Island Weights*. They were waterspirits. Then he scattered a female spirit over the earth. By this we mean stones. Then finally he looked at his creation and he saw that the earth had become quiet.

He had sent the stones clear through the earth, throughout its whole extent. Only the heads, the tops of the stones, were visible above the ground. He looked at his creation and he saw that the earth had indeed become quiet. No clouds appeared anywhere, the light of day appeared motionless, and the vibrations of heat seemed like floating spider webs drifting past.

All the birds that were to roam over the sky, all the four-footed animals that were to live on this earth, all the animals who were to live below the surface of the earth, all these he placed in lodges that he constructed for them. Then he created the various insects that were destined to live on the earth. Finally at the very end of his thinking

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he created us human beings. We were not however even equal in strength to a fly. We were the weakest of all. Then Earthmaker looked at what he had created and liked it and sat filled with happy thoughts.

He was proud of us and gazed again and again at what he had created. He had, however, made the human beings not equal in strength to the other beings and they were on the point of being destroyed by the bad spirits. Then he formed a being in our likeness and when he finished him he called him *Foolish-one*. Him he addressed as follows: "*Foolish-one*, to the earth you are to go. Weak, pitiable in all respects, have I made the human beings. I made them as my last thought. Now this creation of mine, they the evil spirits are likely to injure. So do you, O *Foolish-one*, go and put things in order."

Then he sent him to the earth. But when *Foolish-one* came there he did not do what he had been told. Indeed he went around the earth doing nothing. He was as useless as a child crawling around on all fours. He really amounted to nothing. Though sent by Earthmaker he amounted to nothing. He did no good and injured the creation of Earthmaker, so Earthmaker took him back and placed him to the right of himself.

Then he made another being in human semblance and when he finished him he called him *Turtle*. "The two-legged-walkers whom I created as the last of my thoughts, evil spirits are about to exterminate. Do you, O *Turtle*, go and put the earth in order." *Turtle* went and took along with him a knife. When he came on earth he led people on the warpath and he did not look after Earthmaker's creation. So Earthmaker took back the second man and placed him at his left.

Then he made a third being in human semblance and

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539 when he finished him he named him *Bladder*. To him he
776 spoke, "*Bladder*, you are to go to the earth. As my last
thought I created the two-legged-walkers and they were
pitiful to behold in every way. They are now on the point
of being exterminated and you must save them. Try with
all your strength.

When *Bladder* came to the earth he made a long lodge
and he created twenty men. That many younger brothers
he thus had. Then they all started to go around the entire
[823] island, this earth, and all the younger brothers were killed.
Thus he too failed in his mission. The work his father had
sent him to do he failed to accomplish and so Earthmaker
took him back and placed him on his left side.

Then Earthmaker made a fourth being and when he
finished him he called him *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-*
earrings.

Finally he created the last one, *Hare*. He made his body
exactly like ours. He spoke to him: "You are the last one
I am going to create, so try with all your strength, *Hare*."
He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings had failed, so *Hare*
was created. He was to be the last one. Earthmaker
had created *Hare* entirely by the force of his thoughts.

Then he spoke to *Hare* and said, "*Hare*, what I am doing
you will also be able to accomplish. Try with all your
power. If the evil spirits injure my creation it will not
be good on earth; life will not be good. Try to overcome
these evil spirits." Thus he encouraged him.

When *Hare* came to this earth he said to himself, "My
brothers acted in a certain way and failed." He walked
along until he came to an oval lodge. From this lodge
there emerged, at the time, a young woman carrying a
pall. She was going toward the river. Then *Hare* said
to himself, "Now my brothers were not able to do what I

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am going to do." There he entered the body of the young woman in order to become a human being. There in her womb he remained and yet from there he heard the shrieks and cries of the human beings. "My father sent me to help them and here I am sitting for so long time already," he thought to himself. Shrieking and crying he heard the human beings. "Too long have I been sitting here. In the end the evil spirits will destroy the human beings completely," he thought to himself. Seven months had he been waiting when he said this. Finally when the proper time had come he entered the world through an opening. Four days after that his mother died.

He lived with his grandmother. He would only leave his lodge at night. Then he would roam all around. Whenever he walked inside the lodge, light radiated from him in all directions. As soon as daylight appeared he became quiet. Throughout the day he sat thinking of the work he was to do.

The third time he left the lodge it was sunset. He traveled over half the extent of the earth and he put an end to all the bad spirits who were doing harm. "Not again will any of these live, not again will they harm my uncles and aunts, the human beings." Just before daylight appeared he returned home and there his heart would feel good. He stayed in the lodge wrapped in thought.

On the fourth day when the sun went down he left the lodge and traveled to the very ends of the earth, killing all the bad spirits he met. At about daylight he went up to the sky and pursued all the bad spirits found there, driving them to the west and killing them. Very early in the morning he walked toward his lodge filled with pleasant thoughts. "The work for which my father sent me I have now accomplished. The life of my uncles and my aunts

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539 will now be like mine," he thought to himself as he entered
796 the lodge.

"Well, grandmother, the work my father sent me to do I have now accomplished. He sent me to look after his creation and that I have now attended to. The life of my uncles and my aunts will from now on be like mine." "But, grandson, how can that be, how can the life of your uncles and your aunts be like yours? The world is as our father created it and it cannot be altered." "The old woman must be related to the evil spirits I have killed and that is why she does not like it," he thought. "No, grandson, our father has ordained that my body, the earth shall fall in two. He ordained death lest there be a shortage of food on this earth because of surplus of people; he ordained death lest people crowd each other too much on this earth. He has therefore arranged a place for people to go to when they die."

Harc did not like it. "Surely grandmother is angry because she was related to these spirits. She is taking the part of the evil spirits." Thus he thought. "No, grandson, that is not so. At present your heart feels sore. Your uncles and aunts, however, will obtain ample life, they will live to a normal old age." So she spoke to him. "Now, grandson, get up. Your uncles and aunts will follow you in this. Try to do what I am now going to tell you. Be a man and do not look back after you have started with me."

Then they traveled around the earth. "I wonder why grandmother told me not to turn back," he thought to himself. So he looked back just the least little bit; just the least little bit he turned to the left. Immediately the place from which he had started caved in. "Oh my! Oh my! A

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man I thought you were, a person of prominence, and I en-539
courageed you so much! Now, grandson, decay and death 776●
can in no way be taken back."

Around the earth they went, to the edge of the fire that
stretches on each side of the earth. They united these two [823]
lines of fire so that human beings might attain old age.

"To look back she forbade me. But I have already made
up my mind as to the immortality of my uncles and my
aunts. When they become like me then only will I be
happy. Such is my thought."

Then he went out and walked to the lodge of the spirit
who lives in the east where the sun rises. Opposite him he
sat down. "Well, *Hare*, there is nothing I can do for you.
If the spirit ahead of me has anything he wishes to tell
you, undoubtedly he will do so." Then *Hare* greeted him
and went out.

He traveled toward the west. Even then he had no
other thought in his head except that he would succeed.
When he arrived at the lodge of the second spirit, the lat-
ter spoke to him and said, "*Hare*, what you have come for
I know, but if the spirits ahead of me could say nothing
how can I, the least of all of them, do so?"

Then *Hare* greeted him and left. He started for his
home and arrived there crying, "My aunts and uncles must
not die, they must not die!" And then he thought, "To all
things death will come." He cast his thoughts upon the
precipices, and they began to crumble and cave in. He
cast his thoughts upon the rocks, and they began to crum-
ble. Under the earth he cast his thoughts, and all the
beings that were living there stopped moving and their
limbs stiffened in death. Up above he cast his thoughts
and the birds fell down dead.

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Then after he had entered his lodge he took his blanket and, wrapping himself in it, he lay down crying. "Not the entire earth will suffice us when we die and in some places there will not even be enough room!"

After a while the news reached our father. He heard the human beings saying that the evil spirits would now try to utterly destroy them. The news reached him that *Hare* was not feeling well. Then Earthmaker said to the first man he had created, "*Hare* is not feeling well. Go after him." *Foolish-one* came to the earth. "*Hare*, I have come to fetch you," he said. But *Hare* did not even answer him; he did not even move in his blanket. So *Foolish-one* returned to Earthmaker. Then Earthmaker sent the second one, *Turtle*, and told him, "Do you go now after *Hare* and bring him here. Try very hard to accomplish it for he is not feeling very well." When *Turtle* came to *Hare* he told him, "*Hare*, I have come to take you back with me." But *Hare* did not even answer. Then he returned and said that *Hare* would not even answer.

Finally Earthmaker sent the fourth one he had created and said, "You are to go for *Hare* and bring him back here. Try with all your strength to accomplish this." "No matter how difficult it is I will accomplish it," he said. He reached the earth and said to *Hare*, "Indeed, for a long time has your heart been sad, *Hare*. Come, let us go home now. Get up!" Then he took him back to Earthmaker. He did not, however, take him to Earthmaker's lodge but to the one opposite, where the chief of the Thunderbirds lived. They placed him near the chief. In front of this lodge there was a mound and also a little war club painted red on one side. Thunderbird chief took the little war club and holding it lightly shook it gently. So great, however, was the noise that it made that *Hare* got frightened and almost

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ran out. Then they freed him from the sorrowful thoughts that he had had on earth and restored his spirits.

Soon after that he was taken to Earthmaker. When he came there Earthmaker said, "*Harc*, your heart must have been very sad. Full of sorrow, indeed, must your heart have been for your uncles and your aunts. Now that their lives may be benefited, a holy teaching you are to take back to them. Come, look at this!" There the sky was parted and below on earth toward the south, a long lodge stood revealed. He gazed upon it and as he looked he saw old people with very white hair. "Thus your uncles and aunts are going to be. They will make very much noise in this ceremony. Now look down again! Some help is to be given them. Not one bad spirit will I put there." Then Earthmaker pointed toward the earth again and said, "You are to go back to the earth and put this ceremony before them. Not alone are you to do it but with the aid of your own friends, *Foolish-one*, *Turtle*, *Bladder*, and *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-carrings*. Your grandmother, the Earth, will help you too. If one of your uncles and aunts performs the ceremony properly he will have more than one life. I shall always keep the door through which he may return to earth open to him. When he becomes re-incarnated he can live wherever he wishes. He can return to the earth as a human being, or join the various bands of spirits, or finally become an animal under earth." Now all this Earthmaker did for us.

Then *Harc* returned to the earth and to his grandmother. "What I have tried to obtain for my uncles and my aunts, that now I have brought back with me," he said. "Grandson, how is it possible to make them immortal as ourselves? As the world was created so it must remain." "Grandmother, I say that my uncles and aunts will choose their

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lives for themselves, and, grandmother, you are to help me." "Good, grandson, that I will do," said grandmother thanking him.

"When the time comes my friend *Foolish-one* will come," he thought. Then *Hare* struck the drum and started his songs. All of a sudden *Foolish-one* came in. "I thought of your coming, *Foolish-one*, and you are here." "Indeed, my friend, I knew your thoughts and that is why I came." Then they went out together and outside the village they sat down to discuss what they were to do. When they returned to the lodge *Hare* thought, "My friend, *Turtle*, will come." Then *Turtle* immediately appeared. Said *Hare*, "I thought of your coming and you are here." "Yes, my friend, I knew your thoughts and that is why I came." In the same way *Bladder* came. Finally *Hare* fixed his thoughts on *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings* and he came.

Grandmother listened to them very quietly but she could not understand what they were saying. Then after a while *Hare* said, "What I tried to obtain for my uncles and my aunts I have accomplished. You are now going to hear what it is. Come near the fireplace and sit down and then you will hear about it. I know that you too, grandmother, will be anxious to help the human beings." "Indeed, grandson, I am." She got up, took her handiwork, sat down near the fire of them and laid her hands upon their head. She placed her work in front of her grandson, *Hare*. Then she spoke and said, "If you get this ceremony, the Medicine Dance, for your uncles and your aunts, they will live happily. Forever are they to do this." Then she asked, "Grandson, what is the nature of the work that I am to do for you? Well, this is it. Now look at me. Earth-maker, our father, had me bring the following things for your uncles and your aunts. I am going to give them

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that with which they can always obtain life." Then she opened her dress and there where the heart is, on the left, green leaves became visible and a stalk like an ear. The stalk was white as a blossom. It was corn. "For your uncles and aunts, Earthmaker, our father has permitted me to bring corn." Thus did a stalk become visible whose leaves were very green and whose tassels were very white. 539
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Then the five of them arose and said, "Let us greet our grandmother." So they walked up to her and laid their hands upon her head. "It is good, grandmother," said *Harc*. "This is what I meant when I said you were to help the human beings."

Then *Harc* went out and when he got to a place in the east he stopped. Then he turned to the west. Then he thought, "This is the way it will be." He took eight yellow female snakes and threw them in the air. As they fell they became transformed into the side-poles of the lodge. He turned their heads toward the east and their tails toward the west. He used rattlesnakes to tie them with. The doorway he made of two snakes, a black female snake on the left and a male snake on the right. The doors at the rear end of the lodge he made of blue female snakes. Then he took some reed-grass and threw it over the lodge so that it was completely covered. He took another piece of reed-grass and threw it inside the lodge where it became the white mats on which we stand. A bearskin hide he threw in on the right side and it extended along the whole length of the lodge. On the other side he threw a deerskin hide. Then he made a door of a real living mountain lion. This he did in order to prevent any bad spirits from entering. At the west door he placed a buffalo bull. When he had completed all these things, he looked inside the lodge and

Crashing Thunder

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● 776

there he heard these animals bellowing and roaring at each other. Light radiated all over the lodge.

He now started for the lodge, he first and his friends following. "Well, my friends, I am through; the lodge is finished. Grandmother, stand up and come with us!" She walked first and after her they all came. When they arrived at the door, the fear-inspiring Hon snapped his teeth. But they entered and walked around the lodge until they came to the place where they had first come in. Then *Hare* sent a number of public criers, a bear and a wolf, to traverse the entire length of the earth and invite the spirits to the ceremony. Along with them were also sent winged messengers, the crow and the swan.

When these started they all looked young but when they returned their bodies had become old and devoid of hair and they had to support themselves on staffs. The birds too when they returned, came back with wings exhausted, with eyebrows hanging over their eyes, looking very old indeed. In front of *Hare's* seat they stopped and said to him, "Your uncles and aunts, when they speak of you, will forever praise you. We have placed many life-giving objects within this lodge." "Well, my friends," said *Hare*, "it is good. This is what I wanted. I thank you in the names of my uncles and aunts."

Then all the messengers who had been sent out returned. The first four beings created by Earthmaker also came. They stood at the door ready to enter. The oldest one started but turned back frightened by the animals he saw within. The next two also tried but recoiled back afraid. Finally the youngest opened the door and led them in. They made the circuit of the lodge and at the door *Hare* took the eldest and placed him in the seat at the east. Then he walked around and placed the next one at

The Medicine Dance

the north, then one at the west and one at the south. Then *Harc* took his own seat. 539
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Now the various spirits who had been invited began to enter. Then came the human beings, those of the bird clan, of the bear clan, the wolf clan, the snake clan, etc. Last came the one they were to initiate.

Then *Harc* rose and spoke, "My friends, I have had you come together because my uncles and aunts had been living a very pitiable life. You are to teach them the life they are to live and which is to be handed down from one generation to the other. That is what I ask of you. You have now heard what it is I want. I leave everything else to be done and said by those in the east."

Then the one in the east seat arose and said, "We are to teach our friends, the uncles and aunts of *Harc*, the meaning of life. This they may hand down from generation to generation. To-day for the first time has this thing been discussed. All that life consists of—wealth, honor and happiness—they shall have from now on." The other three spirits, the one in the north, the west, and the south, all said the same thing. When they finished each one returned to his own seat. [181]

Now *Harc* got up again and said, "This is what I desired for my uncles and aunts. This lodge I made for them and as long as they follow the precepts taught in this lodge of creation, they will be invulnerable. For that reason have these seats been made for them, that whosoever so desires may sit therein."

All day long the spirits taught the one who was to be initiated and when the sun was on the treetops and when it was time to stop, the spirits dispersed. As they left they took with them half of the light that had been radiated in the lodge. As they went out they rubbed against the door-

Crashing Thunder

539 posts. They pushed these deep into the ground so that
776 they would not fall over.

Hare now rose and spoke again, "Grandmother, I shall ever be sitting ready for any of my uncles and aunts who will perform this ceremony that has been taught them. With tears my uncles and aunts will come to me and my heart will ache for them. I will go above and sit down, and if any person performs this ceremony, then he will become as I am. Now look at me, grandmother, look at my body!" The old woman looked and he old! he had become a small boy. "Grandmother," said *Hare*, "if any one repeats this ceremony properly, he will become just like this. Now look at me again," *Hare* said. She looked at him and he had become a full-grown man. When she looked for the third time he had become middle-aged, his hair was interspersed with gray. When she looked for the fourth time, his head was covered as if he were wearing a swan as a headdress and he leaned tremblingly on his staff, standing in the east. "Well, grandmother," said *Hare*, "if any of my uncles perform this ceremony properly this is the way they will live."

"It is good, grandson," said the old woman. "However not only your uncles will live like that if they perform the ceremony properly. The same will apply to your aunts. Now look at me, grandson." *Hare* looked and there stood a very young woman, her hair like a smooth shawl. "It is good," said *Hare*; "in the name of my aunts I thank you." Then again he was asked to look and he saw a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. When he looked the fourth time, her hair was entirely dried up, there was a hollow in the nape of her neck, her chin protruded trembling, like a wooden poker burnt short, and her whole appearance was that of duck looking at the sun.

The Medicine Dance

"Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts have now received all that I desired for them. I thank you." 539
776 ●

Now throughout the ceremony I felt all the time that we were merely deceiving the spectators. When it was all over the members of my band told me that in two years I would be able to imitate the sounds of animals to my heart's content for I had taken the place of a great medicine man. Those who have the privilege of dancing obtain it by making gifts to the older members and thus buying the right. Those who do not buy this right or are not given permission to use it, are not allowed to dance. It is the same way with the shooting. Unless, for instance, a man buys the right, he is not allowed to extend his arms at full length when he shoots, but he must hold them close to his breast. The right to drum as well as the right to shake the gourd rattles, all these things must be bought. In fact, almost everything must be bought. I was told, however, that I would not have to go through all this training but would become a great medicine man immediately. That pleased me. I was given a gray squirrel-skin to use as a medicine pouch and I was told that it was really alive and that I had the power to make it cry aloud. I had seen people doing this and I had always envied them. This was another of the things I was anxious to do. Indeed I wondered greatly how it could be done. 59*
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[424]

When the dance was over my father went away and left me at that place alone. He left me at the home of the deceased person's wife. I did not go back to 159*

§19. *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

*159 I was now drinking heavily all the time and I began
 273 to boast of being a holy man. I claimed that I had
 787 been blessed by certain spirits and I made this claim
 156 again and again. Of course this was all a lie, for I had
 577 never felt a stirring of any kind within me. I made
 the claim because I had heard others doing it. Generally I made this claim when I was just about drunk, just on the verge of getting boisterous but still vaguely conscious of what I was saying. Then I would say, for instance, that I had been blessed by a Grizzly-spirit, that he had blessed me with the power of being uncontrollable, that he had taught me certain songs. These I would then sing at the top of my voice. I used to exert all the power I had to imitate a grizzly bear. The bystanders would try to hold me but it always required a large number of men to do so. Now I thought this exhibition of mine an act worthy of praise.

*159 After that I began to claim that I had been blessed
 156 by many spirits. I made the claim at one time that I
 507 was really the reincarnation of one of the benevolent
 787 giant spirits and that my name was *Good-heart*, that I
 705 was now living as a human being among men. Such
 706 was my claim and people believed me.

● 000 Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I

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*159 Thus I spoke. However, they made me an offering
 721 of tobacco as they asked me, and I accepted the to-
 701 bacco saying that I would at least make an offering
 781 of tobacco for them. Then I offered tobacco to the
 776 Thunderbirds and asked them for rain, that we might
 walk in the protection and power of rain. This of-
 fering we made in the morning and it rained all that
 day. Then we went to the place where we knew that
 we could find horses. When we got there we met the
 owner of the horses and spoke to him. We accompa-
 nied him to a carpenter shop nearby, and there killed
 him. I struck his dead body, counted coup²² first,
 [555] and announced my new name, as I gave a war-whoop.
 [551] I shouted 'Big-Winnebago has counted coup on his
 man.' Then the others counted coup also. We
 searched his pockets and found medicine and money
 [720] in them. The money we divided among ourselves.
 [826] After that we cut out his heart, for we had heard that
 hearts were used for medicine. That is why we cut
 out his heart. He had a gun and that we took away
 from him and hid."

Then my father said to me, "My son, it is good.
 Your life is no longer an effeminate one. This is the
 manner in which our ancestors encouraged us to live.
 It is the will of the spirits in control of war that has led

[555] ²² The first four war honors enumerated above are called "count-
 ing coup" by the Whites. *Coup* is the French for *strike* and the ex-
 pression owes its origin to the custom of warriors counting the num-
 ber of people they have killed or honors they have obtained by
 striking the post at the grave of the particular person for whose
 benefit they are recounting their achievements.

My Release from Prison

to them for me to use. Later on, in the fall, when the cranberry season had started, I lived with three women. I never did any work, but simply went from woman to woman. Then the annuity payment was made, and I went around chasing the payment. I sold my horses and spent the money I had. 159*
[588]
[657]

About this time my father and mother asked me to come to Nebraska. I had been told that my father and mother had joined the peyote people and were eating peyote, and I did not like it. These peyote eaters were doing wrong, were wicked, and that is why I disliked them. Old Thunder Cloud, my brother-in-law, told us the following about them: 159*
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"This medicine, the peyote," is one of the four spirits from below. That is why it is bad. These four spirits have always longed for human beings, and now they are getting ahold of them. Those who use the peyote claim that when they die, they will only be going on a [776] •

²² The peyote is a small cactus common in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico, out of which from time immemorial an intoxicating drink has been prepared. The ancient Mexicans were well acquainted with it. For a number of centuries it has been the center of various cults all of which contained marked Christian features. It is only within the last fifty to seventy-five years, however, that some of these cults have spread into the United States. It is from some of the tribes now living in Oklahoma that the Winnebago borrowed it. 192
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The Winnebago either eat the peyote button in its dried state or drink a concoction prepared from it. The effects are various. Every one, however, seems to be agreed upon its causing wonderful color visions. The after effects vary with the individual. I have seen some practically in a state of stupor after eating a large quantity of the buttons, while others seem entirely unaffected and go on with their day's work as though nothing had happened.

The use of the Bible is an entirely new element introduced by the Winnebago.

My Release from Prison

They were glad to see me. Then we all walked to their home. My father and I walked by ourselves and he told me about the peyote. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing. Yet those who partake, stop their drinking. Sick people also get well. We were told these things and therefore joined. What they claimed is true and your mother is practically well now; and so am I. They claim to offer prayers to Earthmaker, to God." He stopped and then continued, "The peyote people are rather foolish for they cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all the medicines that they possess and whose virtues they know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting, give up all the spirits who blessed them. They stop giving feasts and making offerings of tobacco. They burn up all their holy things, destroy the war-bundles. They stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They are bad people. They burn up their medicine pouches, give up the Medicine Dance and even cut up their otter-skin bags.⁸¹ They say they are praying to Earthmaker, to God, and do so standing and crying. They claim to hold nothing holy except Earthmaker, God; that everything they are giving up comes from the bad spirits, that the bad spirits deceived them. They claim that there are no spirits with the power of bestowing blessings and that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker, God." Then I said,

⁸¹ The most sacred object of the Medicine Dance. It is within the otter-skin bag that the shell is concealed with which the newly initiated members of the dance, as well as the regular members, are shot.

Crashing Thunder

*159 claimed." Some say that the home of the bad spirit
795 can also be visited when in this state.

- [206] So that night we went to a meeting again. I doubted all their claims, of course, and thought that they were untrue. Nevertheless I went along. When we got near I had already eaten some peyote for I had taken three in the day. Now near the place where the peyote meeting was to be held there was a regular Winnebago feast and to that I went instead. I found a long lodge and heard a terrific noise. An enormous drum was being beaten. The sound almost raised me in the air so pleasantly loud did it sound to me. Not so pleasantly had things appeared at the peyote meetings that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. I left about day and when I reached the peyote meeting it was still going on. When I got back I was told to sit in a certain place and I was treated very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I also heard that they were going to have another meeting nearby on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote at the place where we were staying, which was the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys taught me a few songs and [533] they said, "Say, when you learn how to sing you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice." I thought so myself.

[p. 178]

The Effects of the Peyote

Then my suffering stopped. "As long as the earth shall last, that long will I make use of you, O Medicine!"

This had lasted a night and a day. For a whole night I had not slept. 159*
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Then we breakfasted and when we were through I said, "Let us eat peyote again to-night." That evening I ate eight peyote.

In the middle of the night I saw God. To God living up above, our father, I prayed. "Have mercy upon me! Give me knowledge that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me too. This religion, let me know this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. Then I beheld the morning star and it was good to look upon; the light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago. It was quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children at play and I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one who had brought the whisky got drunk and annoyed the people. Finally he ran away. "So this is what they are doing?" I thought to myself. Then I beheld my wife. She came out and stood outside the door wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flag pole and was wondering which road to take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other, I am not likely to encounter any one." [776] ●

Indeed it is good. They are all well—my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O

The Effects of the Peyote

I gave to my brother-in-law. Then I cried and my brother-in-law also cried. He thanked me, told me that I understood and that I had done well. He told me that Earthmaker alone was holy; that all the blessings and medicine I possessed were false; that I had been fooled by the bad spirit. He told me that I had now freed myself from much of this bad influence. My relatives expressed their thanks fervently. 159* 795 [176] ●

On the fourth night of my stay they had another meeting and I went to it again. There I again ate peyote. I enjoyed it and sang along with the others. I wanted to be able to sing immediately. Some young men were singing and I enjoyed it so I prayed to Earthmaker and asked him to let me learn to sing right away. That was all I asked for. My brother-in-law was with me all the time. At that meeting all the things I had given my brother-in-law were burnt up. [533]

Now the fact that my brother-in-law had told me that I understood, had pleased me and I felt good when daylight came. As a matter of fact, I had not received any knowledge at all. I thought, however, that this was the proper way to act, so I did it. After that, I would attend meetings occasionally and I looked around for a woman whom I cared to marry permanently. Before long that was the only thing that I would think of when I attended the meetings. [156]

[P. 187]

§33. *I See God*

* 159 As I looked again I saw a flag. I looked more care-
795 fully and I saw the house full of flags. They had the
786 most beautiful marks on them. In the middle of the
room there was a large flag, a living one. It was mov-
ing. In the doorway there was another one not entirely
visible. I had never seen anything so beautiful in all
my life before.

Again I prayed to God. I bowed my head and closed
my eyes and began to speak. I said many things that
I would ordinarily never have spoken about. As I
prayed I was aware of something above me and there
● [1996] He was, He to whom I was speaking, God. That which
we call the soul, that it is which is God. This is what
I felt and saw. The one called Earthmaker, God, is a
spirit and He it was I felt and saw. At least this is
what I learned. I instantly became their spirit; I was
their spirit or soul. Whatever they thought of I imme-
diately knew. I did not have to speak to them and get
an answer to know what their thoughts were. Then I
thought of a certain place far away, and immediately
I was there. I was my thought.

I looked about and watched the people around me
and then when I opened my eyes I was myself in body
again. From now on thus it shall be, I felt. This is

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[787] and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had them for centuries. They use a long and large lodge a [blank] prepared for the purpose, in which all those allowed to witness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin-

[346] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical form as a steam house. They excavate a hole in the ground, heat large stones in a fire to a great heat, and then put them in this hole, and cover them over and seat the initiate over them. He is then covered around with blankets so that none of the steam may escape, after which water is poured on the stones and the neophyte is enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is the first act, and the object is to steam all evil spirits out of him.

[783]

[776]

He is then led in to the house, after the steaming process in some instances has been repeated once or twice. He is then blindfolded and led around the house. Presently the singers beat the drum, shake the rattles, and commence singing a tune; then commences the dance, which is joined in by all present who wish to do so. The women are members of the medicine lodge as well as the men, and they join in the songs and in the dance. After the dancing is done, or perhaps he may have stood in the midst of it there is a suspension of all singing and dancing. Several medicine men then advance towards the neophyte, pointing their medicine bags at him, then drawing them back. This advancing and receding and ejaculating certain words calculated to work up the mind of the novitiate into a regular phrenzy.

[534]

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Presently they reach him when they hit their medicine bags against his body, he still being blindfolded and at the same time uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on his face as if dead and that apparently with-

[158]

[P.60(B)]

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through
in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the
long period of his intercourse any evidence
of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short
of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversa-
tion with Judge Walker, who is a regular
medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says

● 776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the
same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc.

That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit
etc. He says that the initiations described

796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people
of the tribe are not allowed to be present.

That both men and women are members,
and are regularly initiated before they can
become members. That no oath of secrecy
is required, as the Indian knows nothing
about oaths, but they initiate on the honor
of the man and of the woman, choosing such
only as are known to be of good character
for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
ceedings are secret, except these ceremo-
nies which medicine men perform on pa-
tients for their cure.

[753]

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of
the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
828 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of
158 the disease. They know by experience that

by fasting and steaming they so arouse and
excite a well person as to produce a shock
which will throw him to the earth. This is
done at the ceremony of initiation which
Judge Williams described. It is done by
nervous excitement, and Indian faith in
these ceremonies, and is repeated over ev-
ery initiate as a proof of the possession by
medicine men of this marvellous power. He

[P.61(A)]

Where Trickster stops Hare begins. He is a combination of a trickster and a culture-hero. His benefactions, for instance, are all accidental. But from the start, he possesses the lineaments of a human being and his orientation is toward man. He is no longer the supreme egoist that Trickster was. At the end of his adventures the earth has been transformed into a place where human beings can live and operate. 105
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It is the function of the heroes of the third cycle to prevent this order which Hare has established from being again disrupted and returning to chaos. The function of the Twins is to continue the struggles of the heroes of the third cycle and to attempt to stabilize this order for all time.

Now although the theme of all these epics is the struggle against chaos and the introduction of order, each one of the great heroes of the last three epics, attempts to disrupt the order he has himself established. Hare brings death into the universe, Storms-as-he-walks, one of the heroes of the third cycle, kills wantonly and unnecessarily and the Twins kill one of the deities who hold our earth in place. In the case of the Twins it is important to stress the fact that, as we shall see, their attack on the world order is the result of exuberance of energy which is, in itself, constructive.

This same theme of the necessity for intelligent order and the establishment of stability runs, like a guiding thread, through the Origin Myth given on pages 17 ff. and pages 252 ff. There, the first problem of Earthmaker after he has, so to say, given himself a fixed orientation in the universe at large and brought about order within himself, is to stop the earth he has created from continuing its ceaseless motion. This he achieves by anchoring it at the four cardinal points and then weighing it down by means of vegetation and mountains. The anchorage, significantly enough, is brought about by pinning the island-earth down by four waterspirits and four snakes. Now snakes are the specifically sacred animals of the Winnebago, the intermediaries between the deities and man. Waterspirits, on the other hand, are, essentially, the most productively evil and dangerous of all the deities for man, fascinating him, confusing him, and placing in his hands the means for his own destruction and the destruction

1 [Not processed. - Analyst]

105 of his fellowmen. By giving to the waterspirits the positive and con-
538 structive function of helping to stop the earth from spinning around
773 and then holding it in place, part of their primary and ancient dan-
776 ger has thus been neutralized. Yet it can, at best—in fact, it must—
only be neutralized. To destroy it completely would be equivalent
to saying that man has ceased to err, overcome all temptation and
become one of the deities. Such a condition, the Winnebago insist,
neither the deities nor man desire.

According to the esoteric view, the ambivalent but fundamentally
evil and disruptive nature of the blessings of the waterspirit have
never ceased. It is one of the subtle and symbolic features of the
final adventure of the Twins, namely, the destruction of one of
the waterspirits, the anchorers of the earth, that they are, after all,
only doing in a human fashion what Earthmaker himself found it
necessary to do, prevent the waterspirits from harming man. They
kill the waterspirit and feed on its body. They do not understand that
disruption and disintegration represent one half of the process of
living and can, at best, be neutralized and delayed, never eliminated
and destroyed. It is the symbol for motion and change without which
life not only ceases to exist but is indeed inconceivable. Earthmaker,
of course, recognizes this and he must, therefore, put a stop to the
activities of the Twins and he punishes them. Their punishment is a
symbol for the error they have committed. They became fixed,
motionless and permanent, both of them traits that, according to
Winnebago beliefs, are forms of death. In the puberty vision-quest
one of the signs that foreshadows death is to dream of rocks or stones.

I cannot think of a closer parallel to what has here happened to
the waterspirits than that of the transformation, in the *Oresteia* of
Aeschylus, of the Furies into beneficent creatures.

But to continue with the Origin Myth. Having created order
within himself and established it for the stage on which man is to
play, Earthmaker proceeds to create the first beings who are to
people the universe, the spirits and deities. To each one he assigns
a fixed and specific amount of power, to some more, to some less.
In a nature religion like that of the Winnebago, this is, of course,
only another way of giving the objects and forces of nature their

to them. To understand properly these three problems we must, at ¹⁰⁵
the outset, try to distinguish between the layman's and the priest's ²¹
conception, between the exoteric and the esoteric viewpoint al-⁷⁷¹
though, to be sure, the two are never mutually exclusive.

For the ordinary man, the lay Winnebago, the primary powers of ¹⁰⁵
the vast majority of the deities have always inhered in the deities ⁷⁷¹
themselves. They are their own possessions and have not been be-
stowed upon them from without. Moreover these powers relate to ⁷⁷⁶
the actual natural functions these deities perform. The prayers of ^[782]
man to the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Night-spirits, the Thunder-
birds, etc. are, primarily, that they continue their functions and do
not deviate from them. But man recognizes that they also have
secondary functions, that, for instance, the sun, the morning and
evening stars, the thunderbirds, the night-spirits, all possess the
power to give man long life and victory on the warpath; that the
grizzly bear spirits have curative powers to bestow upon him and
the waterspirits have special powers in connection with death-
dealing medicines, etc. This socialization of the spirits and deities
brings them that much closer to man. By bringing them this much
closer to man they are deprived, however, of something of their
independence and freedom of action. They have now become more
specifically oriented toward mankind than toward their functioning
in the universe at large. This change in orientation did not come
about mechanically or accidentally. It represents the priest-thinker's
conception, his attempt to establish linkages and meaningful rela-
tionships between men and the world of spirits. This attempt, from
the nature of things, can never completely succeed for the simple
reason that the primary functions of most of the nature gods—and
they are the important ones—cannot be eliminated, must, in fact,
not be eliminated. In the case, however, of animal deities, their older
primary functions can be attenuated to a very marked extent and
deities can be developed who never possessed functions other than
those we have designated as secondary, that is, deities who function
only in relation to man.

Since the nature gods, however, were the great gods, they served
as patterns for all the others and the marked split in their orienta-

105 tion became, more or less, the characteristic of all spirits and deities.
771 The older condition, where the god concerned himself with his pri-
776 mary functioning and where relations to man were strictly neutral, was
set off against his later condition where he was specifically enmeshed
in man and man in him. These older deities—the waterspirits, for
instance, belong here—never bestowed upon man either good or evil
blessings. Like the waterspirits, they gave man the materials out of
which he could prepare his own good or evil. That, I think, was
always the lay point of view. Manifestly this led at times, to extreme
individualism and clearly did not make for organization. The priest-
thinker in seeking to bring more order into the various functions of
the deities introduced new evaluations and new distinctions. For
example, the earlier functioning of most of the deities was now inter-
preted as essentially evil or at least of no positive relation to man. In
their later status, on the contrary, they generously brought man good
blessings and they themselves became beneficent and friendly deities.

This socialization of the deities was entirely the work of the priest-
thinkers. It succeeded completely, only in the case of Earthmaker
and in their masterpiece, the Medicine Rite. In all other instances
the lay interpretation was still largely dominant: man could never
be certain what he would receive from the spirit to whom he was
praying and making offerings, nor feel that he could always guard
himself adequately against the dangers inherent in the approach to
the supernatural. This uncertainty was expressed in a number of
ways. One of them is very typical for the Winnebago. Every youth,
during his puberty vision-quest, was warned by his elders against
accepting too generous a gift of power from the deities. This was the
matter-of-fact parent's euphemistic way of saying, 'Do not let them
deceive you or work evil upon you.' The thinker, of course, inter-
preted this in an entirely different fashion. For him, a faster who
accepted more from the gods than he could fulfill was the victim of
his own overreaching and lack of that sense of proportion which,
alone, can save man from destruction.

This recognition, then, of the ambivalent or, at least, veiled nature
of the deity's attitude toward him is something that man must learn
to accept and which he must also learn to meet in such fashion that

the spirit or deity will be constrained, willingly or otherwise, to grant him his request. How can this be done? The answer will depend upon who is speaking, a Winnebago layman or a Winnebago priest-thinker. The layman's view is embodied in the myth of the origin and function of tobacco. There the deities are mechanically constrained to give the powers they possess to any human being who comes with an offering of tobacco. Here the human suppliant theoretically determines what he is to receive and how he is to employ it. In actual practice, of course, the situation is never so simple even in the case of the most matter-of-fact individual or the most matter-of-fact deity. Both are swayed by contradictory and conflicting emotions. Man wishes a maximum of power but is held back from making the maximum request for fear that it will be too dangerous for him to do so. The deities wish to be sustained by the tobacco for which they have an almost uncontrolled craving but dread the loss of power it entails. As a result man is prone to ask too little or too much and the deities to give too little or too much. Both lead to disorder and result in evil. 105
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To restore order in such a situation where, on the one hand, you are dealing with human nature with its ceaseless changes, its impermanence and its inability to foresee the future and the consequences of its demands and, on the other, with divine nature, with its unchangeability, its permanence and its foreknowledge, was a problem of extreme difficulty and delicacy. The added fact that, according to the universally accepted Winnebago belief, the spirits and deities depended for their happiness and much of their functioning upon the sustenance they obtained from man, further complicated it. The problem, of course, existed primarily for the priest-thinker.

To a large degree it was of the latter's own making. To the matter-of-fact man, the man of action, the relationship between the deities and man was, as has already been pointed out, direct, mechanical and constraining for both. It was but an extension of the theory of exchange of goods which prevailed on earth between men, to the world of spirits. That theory of exchange insisted that the receiver of a gift should always make a return gift of greater value than that which he had received. Of the spirits who had so much, man could

105 at least, demand an equal exchange. The crux of the question then
771 was, who is to evaluate the human gift? The answer of the mat-
776 ter-of-fact man was both, the spirits and man. For that reason, he
contended, risk and danger must always inhere in the human-god
relationship and there was little that could be done about it except
to take every precaution one could. This must be accepted. Such
was life. Suffering and tragedy loomed large there and the relation-
ship between the deities and man was part of it. The gods could, at
best, only help man to keep his balance and maintain his sense of
proportion. It had always been a human problem and always would
remain one. A whole class of literature, the *worak*, dealt with this
theme. The picture it painted was not too optimistic.

105 It was the priest-thinker who was the optimist. He attempted a
771 time-honored solution of philosophers, that of giving man some of
776 the attributes of divinity, in other words, a greater sense of fixity and
912 security, a greater degree of permanence, and some possibility of
foreknowledge.

Winnebago philosophers seem to have attacked this problem
repeatedly and suggested a number of solutions. According to one
theory, gods and men had been equal in the beginning. At that time
all existent beings could transform themselves at will into the one
or the other *ad infinitum*. When, however, the world was to take its
present shape, all the beings had to transform themselves perma-
nently into the one or the other, into gods or into human beings.

Thus, at one time, man had actually partaken of the divine. This
105 was, of course, only divinity in retrospect, and was not of great
771 importance in developing divine stature for man now. Winnebago
775 thinkers, instead, fell back upon two universally accepted folkloris-
tic beliefs, that in the immortality of the soul and that in reincarna-
tion. The first, however, implied a complete and irretrievable separa-
tion from the earth and human beings. To be of any value in the task
of developing divine traits for man, the soul, the permanent com-
ponent of man which left him at death had to be bound, in some
way, to the earth. This could best be done by reinterpreting the
nature of death. This was done by having it merely imply no loss of
personal consciousness at all but simply a temporary stumbling.

105 The priest-thinker thus contended that man could be made to
771 approximate to the deities by simply manipulating powers and
776 attributes which some individuals, at least, already possessed. Was it,
however, wise to leave it to the individual himself to attempt this
approximation? There had always been individuals in the commu-
nity who essayed it but the net results of their attempts had spelled
misfortune for them and misfortune for the community. They were
generally the practitioners of evil magic, the poisoners. The Medicine
Rite is replete with stories about them. Apparently, then, this was
not a matter to be left to the discretion of an individual or for that
matter to human beings at all. Man was to be educated to divinity
by the deities themselves. For this purpose both were to be trans-
formed into more disciplined, more responsible, more ethical and
more profoundly realistic beings. Just as in the attainment of the
goods of life, so now in the attainment of the benefits flowing from
divinity, he was to face the problem bravely and realistically and
endure stoically and understandingly the hardships and sufferings
involved. In short, divinity had to be achieved. It could not be thrust
upon one. The deities, likewise, had to be educated and be made to
realize that nothing was due them as such and that they could expect
no sustenance from man unless their own way of life was organized
and ethically ordered and unless their blessings were given in good
faith and in gratitude.

105 The poet-philosophers composed many a worak to bring out just
771 these points. To give an example. A child is fasting and refuses one
776 gift after another from the deities. Perturbed, they turn to the father
538 and ask him to discover what the boy wants that has not already been
granted him. In answer to his father's question, the boy says he does
not wish to die. Neither the entreaties of the father or the spirits
avail. And so the boy must die although he is rewarded by being
transformed into a pine tree.

Now this is actually a completely transformed version of a well-
known story, *The Child Who Fasted Too Long*. In the original
version he dies because he has overreached himself. In such stories
the spirits are neutral, that is, where they are not actually inciting
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the young faster to overreach and destroy himself. Thus we see along what lines the reinterpretations of the priest-thinker were made. 105 771

This was the theory that the priest-thinker tried to impress upon his fellowmen in order to introduce a greater sense of confidence and security in the relationship between man and the deities. Because of the very high demands it made upon the worshipper, it remained largely a philosophical-ethical ideal and the fairly sharp line of demarcation between human beings and the spirits continued in force as the popular theory. Some there were who even insisted that it was, not only the courageous, but the morally justifiable thing to do, to coerce the deities into acquiescing in man's demands. That was the proper way to meet divinity, to challenge the gods, accept what they granted and, then, to attempt to fulfill the conditions imposed even if they meant death. Few individuals in the community, for instance, had greater prestige than the few who had secured a blessing from the much dreaded deity, Disease-giver. He had two faces, one dealing life and the other death. No suppliant knew which side would be turned toward him when he made his offerings, at noon, in the full blaze of day, contrary to what held for all the other deities, namely, that they must be approached at night. [538] 776 [538] 782

This, of course, is the warrior's creed and, in a civilization like that of the Winnebago where the highest ambition as a man was to achieve distinction on the warpath, it naturally was very important. Yet to this, the chief of the tribe might well retort: such courage and such risks have their moral justification only when one is fighting the enemy or avenging the death of a kinsman. They are inapplicable when approaching a god. The taking of great risks concerns not only oneself but the whole community and must be subject to the sanctions of the community. A person must be carefully and properly educated before he dare take them. To exhibit fearlessness and heroic courage is, in itself, no virtue. Indeed, in the wrong place or on the wrong occasion, they can and do lead to death and destruction. 105 771 577

And so, in the realm of religion as in that of social organization and mythology, the problem to be faced is depicted as being the same. How are we to resolve the differences between the 'earth' interpre-